FBIS

DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 114 15 June 1981

ALBANIA

Party Daily Reports on Cooperation With Yugoslavia [ZERI I POPULLIT] B 1
ATA Carries Kosovo Demonstrator's Letter B 5
CPSU Letter to Poland 'Arrogant', 'Threatening' B 7
Trade Agreement for 1981 Signed With Austria B 7

BULGARIA

Algerian President Bendjedid Makes Official Visit C 1
  Arrival in Sofia C 1
  Meeting With Zhivkov C 1
  Official Dinner 10 June C 1
  Talks on 11 June C 1
  More on Talks C 2
  Bendjedid Statement C 2
  Departure 11 June C 3
Zhivkova-Led Delegation Departs for Vienna C 3
Bulgarian, Hungarian Deputy Ministers Meet in Sofia C 3
Greetings Exchanged With Afghan Foreign Ministry C 4
Joint Soviet-Bulgarian Communique Issued [cross-reference] C 4
Trade Union Delegation's Visit to USSR Reported C 4
Conference With Capitalist Countries Opens in Sofia C 4
Zhivkov Congratulates Pen Sovan on Election C 5
Correction to National Election Results C 5

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

RUDE PRAVO on CPSU Letter to Polish Hierarchy [13 Jun] D 1
1968 Experience Relevant to Polish Situation D 3
CPSU Letter Contributes to European Stability D 5
Prague TV Commentator Views Polish Situation D 5
Poland Avoiding Steps Against Counterrevolution D 6
Litterateur Says 'Offensive' Needed in Poland D 8
CTK Notes Circulation of Leaflets in Poland D 8
Report of Soviet Monument Desecrated in Lublin D 9
'Stage Management' of Cannes Award to Wajda Movie [RUDE PRAVO 10 Jun] D 9
Israeli Attack on Iraqi Reactor Denounced D 10
  Foreign Ministry Condemnation [RUDE PRAVO 12 Jun] D 10
  U.S. Encouragement [Madr in RUDE PRAVO 10 Jun] D 10
  U.S. Position Condemned [Krejci in RUDE PRAVO 12 Jun] D 11

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

End of PZPR Central Committee Plenum Reported E 1
National Press on Israeli Attack on Iraq E 1
  NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 10 Jun E 1
  DER MORGEN 10 Jun E 2
SED's Axen Comments on NATO Missile Decision [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 9 Jun] E 2
SED's Mittag Addresses Defense Ministry Personnel [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 10 Jun] E 3

Press Reports Olteanu Dinner for Hoffmann [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 5 Jun] E 4
Hoffmann Meets With Hungarian Army Official E 4
Honecker Speaks at Karl-Marx-Stadt E 5
    Speaks at Electronics Factory E 5
    Election Meeting Speech E 5
Stoph, Axen, Others Make GRD Election Speeches E 7
Honecker Greets Pen Sovan on Election E 8
Border Guards Detain Three FRG 'Provocateurs' E 8
Briefs: Shipping Line With Cuba; Assistance for Afghanistan E 8

HUNGARY

NEPSZABADSAG Editorial Sees Poland at Crisis Point F 1

POLAND

Speakers, Proceedings of Sejm Session 12 June G 1
    Jaruzelski Address G 1
    Szczepanski Address G 14
    More on Kowalczyk Case G 17
    Message of Thanks From Pope G 17
    Malcuzynski Address G 17
    Zawadzki Presents Draft TU Law G 20
    More on Draft TU Law G 25
    Resolution Adopted G 25
Report-Back Conferences and Election Results G 26
    Delegate Election Figures G 26
    Leaders Attending G 26
    Krakow Conference Opens G 27
    Kania, Rakowski Elected G 27
    More on Kania Election G 27
    Kania Address G 28
    Other Delegates' Comments G 30
    Grabski on CPSU Letter G 31
    'Serious Disturbances' G 32
    Barcikowski on Plenum, Letter G 32
    Zabinski Views Letter G 33
    Deliberations at Opole G 33
    Kurowski Comments at Opole G 34
    More on Kurowski G 34

ROMANIA

SCINTEIA Comments on Situation in Poland [14 Jun] H 1
Andrei Meets With Austrian Foreign Minister H 5

YUGOSLAVIA

Sundic Says Poland Needs 'Patience' From Allies I 1
TANJUG Views Poland's Precongress Situation I 2
Official Expresses Confidence in Polish Authorities I 2
Assembly Delegates Discuss Kosovo Situation I 2
LCY's Culafic Stresses Media's Role in Kosovo I 4
Kosovo Municipal Party Meeting Results Noted I 6
Assembly Chamber Debates Economic Trends I 7
    Djuranovic Report I 8
Briefs: Soviet Health Delegation; New PRC Ambassador; New Hungarian Ambassador I 14

PARTY DAILY REPORTS ON COOPERATION WITH YUGOSLAVIA

AU121451 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 12 Jun 81

["The Truth on Economic-Trade Relations Between Albania and Yugoslavia"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 12 Jun (ATA)--

> --Albania has always been correct in its trade relations with Yugoslavia and it has conducted and is ready to continue to conduct trade with Yugoslavia, considering this both in favour of Albania and Yugoslavia, ZERI I POPULLIT writes in an article.
>
> --Our country carries out trade exchanges with over 50 countries and hundreds of regions and firms far and wide the world. None of them has complained so far of lack of correctness on the part of the Albanian side.
>
> --In the trade prices between our two countries, it is constantly noticed that many Yugoslav firms, proceeding even from the tendencies nurtured by "self-administration" have aimed at carrying out unequal trade with us, in order to ensure selling prices above the level of the prices in the international market.
>
> --The Yugoslav firms seek to impose low prices on the goods of our export.
>
> --The failure to implement the obligations of the protocol and the contracts for the exchange of commodities for 1981 is becoming ever more pronounced in particular after the events in Kosovo.
>
> --We say to POLITIKA and its inspirers that you have taken a wrong and shameful road, with no way out.
>
> --With what you have done and are doing in Kosovo, with what you are doing against Socialist Albania, you are serving with high efficiency Soviet social-imperialism and you yourselves are digging the grave to the Yugoslav Federation.
>
> --We do not wish the disintegration, but we wish the stability of Yugoslav Federation. We want good neighbourliness and not enmity with Yugoslavia. We want honest trade and normal relations with Yugoslavia, based on the principles of equality, non-interference and mutual benefit.

Follows the full text of the article:

In the recent months, the newspapers of Belgrade POLITIKA and NIN, these two mouthpieces of big-Serb clan have had as their main topic the slanders against Socialist Albania, according to the principle "slander, slander, because in the final account, something will remain".

Why all this spiteful noise is raised in Belgrade against Albania, we have explained in our basic articles published until now, and we will continue to explain it further, because the roots of this campaign of columns are deep. They are linked with the dark Russian-big-Serb plan against Yugoslavia, Albania and peace in the Balkans and Europe.

In the context of this campaign, the nature and content of trade exchanges between Albania and Yugoslavia are also being distorted.

On May 28 this year, the newspaper POLITIKA published an article entitled: "From the File of Yugoslav-Albanian Relations." The content of this article was also reflected in the magazine NIN two days later. The article brings many accusations on Albania in regard to its relations with Yugoslavia in various fields, among which also in the field of trade exchanges.

Through its sensational article POLITIKA strives to prove "the generosity of self-administrative Yugoslav state" towards Socialist Albania, in order to create the impression on the public opinion that "Yugoslavia has been very patient and tolerant towards Albania for 32 years in succession", that after the cutting off of the relations between China and Albania in 1978 "only a non-aligned country as Yugoslavia could understand the complete importance of the (grave economic) position of Albania", that Albania has always sought "special conditions" in its relations with Yugoslavia, that Albania has used the ways of communication "created to it by Yugoslavia with benevolence", for its selfish aims, etc.

In 1978, when revisionist China cut off all the aid and credits for Albania as well as trade relations, Albania truthfully came across with difficulties, but not unexpected for it. At that moment, we had to immediately turn about half of the volume of our foreign trade we had had until then with China, to other markets of the world. And Socialist Albania did this without being in need of reexamining the sixth five-year plan, without being in need of requiring aid from anybody or that someone should be "generous" in the trade with Albania.

Naturally, the volume of trade which we were conducting with China would be and was extended both to the markets in which we sold and bought until then (1978), apart from China, also to new markets. This brought about also the extension of our trade with Yugoslavia, which, as is known, had a positive development in these last 2-3 years also due to the fact of the material possibilities which were created for the extension of our export as a result of the successful implementation of the sixth five-year plan. This was extended also due to the fact that the Yugoslav economy, in the grip of the economic crisis, was in great demand to export its commodities. We surmounted the difficulties created by the Chinese with our toil and sweat and not with the "generosity" of big-Serbs, who are really showing themselves "generous" with their slanders against Socialist Albania.

Albania has always been correct in its trade relations with Yugoslavia and it has conducted and is ready to continue to conduct trade with Yugoslavia, considering this both in favour of Albania and Yugoslavia. Trade is trade. It is never one-sided and is always carried out on the basis of reciprocity. In our trade with other countries we have never asked for privileges and we apply the principle of covering our import with our export, so that our balance should never be passive towards the others. Our country carries out trade exchanges with over 50 countries and hundreds of regions and firms far and wide the world. One of them has complained so far of lack of correctness on the part of Albanian side.

As Belgrade made known in public its accounts of trade with Albania, then we, too, should be allowed to open our accounts and make our calculations on this question:

1--The newspaper POLITIKA says that "the Belgrade-Tirana Airline brings about constant losses to JAT, despite this the subvention continues". How does the truth about this stand? It was the Yugoslav side itself and not the Albanian side that proposed the establishment of this airline. We welcomed the Yugoslav proposal. Naturally, the Yugoslav side did not open this line without reckoning well its economic and political calculations.

It did not do this only to serve the Albanian passengers, but also the Yugoslav ones, who go from and come to Tirana. According to our calculations, the Yugoslav company of civil aviation draws profits and not losses from this line. Our passengers have never traveled gratis. Everything has been paid.

2--POLITIKA presents the Yugoslav "generosity" towards Albania also with the affirmation that "Yugoslavia has given up the request for all sorts of compensations for 700 hectares of Yugoslav territory overflooded as the result of the creation of the lake of Fierza Hydropower Station on Drini River (in Albania)". This is a big lie. Yugoslavia has granted nothing to Albania in regard to Fierza Hydropower Station and Albania has never asked for "presents" from Yugoslavia.

In regard to this, everything has been solved on the basis of the agreement concluded between the two sides in the second extraordinary meeting of the Albanian-Yugoslav Commission on Water Conservancy and was fixed in the protocol of 1962, approved by the governments of both countries. This protocol admits and approves that an area of about 700 hectares, together with the river bed itself in the zone of White Drini in the Yugoslav territory, be overflooded and, the common and mutual obligation was taken that "each side, in its territory" take the necessary measures to cope with the damage before the creation of the lake.

This solution, the non-requiring of compensation on the part of the Yugoslav side from the Albanian side in regard to the overflooded area in the Yugoslav territory was not a solution of a unilateral interest for Albania, as POLITIKA claims, but in the interest of both sides. This clearly emerges if the other questions treated in the protocol of 1962 are taken into consideration.

Apart from question of the water level of Fierza Lake, the protocol of 1962 has solved in a common way, between the two sides, 13 other problems of water conservancy between the two countries. Out of them, 11 questions were requests made by the Yugoslav side. The Albanian side gave its approval for the 11 requests by the Yugoslav side, including here also the questions of turning the upper part of Radika River from the basin of Black Drini (that is a common river) to the direction of Vardar (which belongs to Yugoslavia) from which the Yugoslav side secured the watering of 50,000 hectares of arable land in the plains of Pollog and Shkup, as well as the construction of 3 hydro-power stations in the Yugoslav territory (Verben, Vrutok and Koven). From this water displacement the Albanian side lost about 250 million KWH electric power annually to the tune of about 9 million dollars a year according to present day prices, from the hydro-power stations that had to be built on Drini River in our territory.

The protocol of 1962 did not foresee direct compensations for special questions because the compensation was mutually made for both sides from the general solution of all the problems that were raised and decided in that meeting. Here, exception is made only for the problem of the solution of the water total quantity of the Shkodra Lake of Drini and Buna rivers, on which it was decided that the necessary studies be made and it was stressed explicitly that the expenditure (for this solution) would be met by the two sides according to the respective profits.

Apart from this, through the construction of Fierza Hydro-Power Station by Albania, the Yugoslav side has had a series of other indirect profits, because, with the construction of Fierza Hydropower Station, the checking of Drini flow diminishes the oscillations of Shkodra Lake, reducing the high levels during winter and raising its level during summer, from which the Yugoslav side has profited in the lands round Shkodra Lake, etc.

It clearly comes out from all calculations that the profits of Yugoslav side in the area of Shkodra Lake from the construction of Fierza Hydropower Station are greater than the damages caused to it in the White Drini area, without taking into consideration its great profits in regard to the other problems solved together in the protocol of 1962, as it was said above.

3--POLITIKA complains that "Albania pays for the transit transport (through Yugoslavia) only for 500 lorries. It pays nothing for the other lorries, while our (Yugoslav) transporters do not make use of the transit through Albania". But this, gentlemen of POLITIKA of Belgrade, has been done under a joint agreement between the two countries. If it does not suit you now this is another pair of shoes.

The trade exchanges between Albania and Yugoslavia are all based on the government agreements signed regularly between the two sides. On the basis of these official documents and in the context of the Federation of Yugoslavia, we have conducted trade with the republics and the autonomous regions of Yugoslavia. The Albanian side has always been correct in executing the signed agreements and protocols.

If we throw a glance on the figures of trade exchanges between the two sides for 1976-1981 period it comes out that the obligations by our side have been fulfilled better than by the Yugoslav side. Consequently the balance of trade exchanges every year has been in our favour and never in favour of the Yugoslav side, so that for 1981, till May 31 this year, our active balance with the Yugoslavs has amounted to about 10 million dollars above the permitted technical limit, which is not a small amount for the Albanian economy.

In the trade prices between our two countries, it is constantly noticed that many Yugoslav firms, proceeding even from the tendencies nurtured by "self-administration" have aimed at carrying out unequal trade with us, in order to ensure selling prices above the level of the prices in the international market. The agreement concluded between the two countries on trade exchanges says that the prices of goods to be delivered in the context of this agreement be put on the basis of the prices of the main world markets, but the Yugoslav firms do not apply this clause. They have always tried to carry out unequal trade with us.

So, the price offered for the edible oil for 1980 has been 23 percent higher than that of world market and for 1981 about 67 percent higher. For 1981, the prices offered by the Yugoslav firms for their goods that Albania wants to import, are higher than world prices, approximately as follows: profit iron 52 percent, lubricant oils 40 percent, copper sheet 72 percent, copper rods 80 percent, bronze sheet 78 percent, steel cables 200 percent, etc.

The failure to implement the obligations of the protocol and the contracts for the exchange of commodities for 1981 is becoming ever more pronounced in particular after the events in Kosovo. The Yugoslav firms delay the meetings required by our representatives in Belgrade. They do not accept that our representatives go to the firms in other cities of Yugoslavia, but say to them that the representatives of the firms will come to our representation in Belgrade and, this is done in delay or is not done at all. This has seriously hindered the striking of the contracts for this year, as well as the implementation of the concluded ones.

The Yugoslav firms seek to impose low prices for the goods of our export. For instance, for the electric power, the importance of which is known, the Yugoslav prices are 18 percent lower than the prices in the world market for 1981.

Complaining that Albania has "ill-willingly" developed its relations with Kosovo in all directions whereas the "only exception" is the sector of trade relations between the two countries, which is extended not only in Kosovo, but also in other republics of Yugoslavia, the newspaper POLITIKA deceives ill-willingly, perhaps. Do not those in Belgrade know that many government agreements between Albania and Yugoslavia exist for a long time now and are being executed in the interest of both sides? These are: the Albanian-Yugoslav agreement on water conservancy, where fishing is included, the agreement for the solution of border incidents and for the reconstruction, repairing and maintainance of border signs, the agreement of cooperation between the Tirana University and the University of Shkup, the agreement between the Tirana University and the Titograd University, the agreement for railway connection of both countries, etc. Why are these agreements not mentioned?

On the other hand, our country has taken part in film and artistic ensembles' festivals like in Lubljana and Ohri, which are not in Kosovo, but in Slovenia and Macedonia respectively. According to the common agreement, the week of the Albanian film, which was welcomed, was organised in Titograd. The exhibition of figurative arts of the PSR of Albania has been opened in Shkup and Belgrade, and it was a success and left good impressions on the public. Why are these hidden with a sleight of hand on the part of POLITIKA? In order to conceal the reality, POLITIKA speaks in general, whereas we are speaking with concrete facts and figures.

We say to POLITIKA and its inspirers, that you have taken a wrong and shameful road, with no way out. With what you have done and are doing in Kosovo, with what you are doing against Socialist Albania, you are with high efficiency serving Soviet social-imperialism and you yourselves are digging the grave for the Yugoslav federation. It is not the Albanians who want the destruction of the Yugoslav Federation. You yourselves are destroying it, with your own hands, with your policy, with your daily action. We do not wish the disintegration, but we wish the stability of the Yugoslav Federation. We want honest trade and normal relations with Yugoslavia, based on the principles of equality, non-interference and mutual benefit.

ATA CARRIES KOSOVO DEMONSTRATOR'S LETTER

AU141424 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 14 Jun 81

["Letter of a Young Man from Kosovo, Participant at the Demonstrations in 'At These Moments We Are Stronger Than Ever'"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 14 Jun (ATA)--Three months are being completed since Kosov lives in curfew. Everybody, not only foreign, but also native, that comes in or goes out, is subjected to a strict police control. The Serbian army and militia are distributed everywhere in the region. The special troops of the UDB [Administration of State Security] and secret military police, made up of former parentless children, reared up in the orphanages and trained in particular to exercise terror, chase and persecute the Albanians. The whole Kosovo is under an unprecedented terror. While continuing the savage oppression, the big-Serb chauvinists do their utmost to isolate Kosovo from the world so that the crimes they perpetrate should not be learned from it. Despite this, there are patriots, who, even in grave conditions, find the ways to inform the public opinion abroad on what has happened and is happening in Kosovo.

These days Radio-Tirana has received a letter from a listener abroad. The letter has been sent to him from a comrade, participant at the demonstrations in Pristina.

Follows the full text of the letter:

"If you want to ask for me, I fail to say that I am well. Not only me, but none in the whole region of Kosovo. 2-3 months have gone by ever since I have not written to you, but the reason has been such, I could not mail a letter to you because they are checked and read. Now, I found the opportunity to write to you for everything that has happened here.

Kosovo, as you know, is one of the most backward regions and, at the same time, life is very expensive. The wages of the workers are among the lowest in Yugoslavia. This situation continues for years, but on March 11 the patience came to an end and the Albanians rose. At 0700 of this day, the students raised their heads and more than 3,000 people filled in the streets and began to ask for their rights, freedom, work to the workers, treatment for the students, etc. The demonstration lasted for about 3 hours. The police that came in to disperse the demonstrators, immediately passed into offensive against them and its clashes with the students were fierce. The morrow, the arrests began. Thus, this job continued for several days and uninterruptedly led to March 26, when the demonstrating students were also joined by the workers. During the demonstration of this day, the same slogans and requests were again shouted out. The policemen undertook actions, killed and maimed several people. Again arrests and thousands of students were thrown into prisons. The participation of the Albanians in the demonstrations of this day was larger. Now, how could the rest continue their lessons without their comrades? Therefore they took the decision: either death or victory. This brought about April 2. The entire people of Kosovo raised on their feet, an event that you rarely experience in life. You cannot believe in this. How can a whole people from 12 to 75 years of age, pupils of elementary middle schools, university students and workers raise on their feet? All of them carrying flags in their hands, with Albanian songs on their lips, came out to ask for their rights.

For a moment, to tell the truth, I was embarrassed and did not want to believe in my eyes. I remained looking for about half an hour, but unexpectedly, a girl's voice called on us, "Hi, what are you doing? Come on. This is a struggle for all". This call aroused great emotions in me and I myself did not understand how I found myself amongst the demonstrators. When thousands of people rushed into the streets of Pristina like a river, children came out of the houses of Albanians and brought bread, water, biscuits to the demonstrators. Children not more than 8-10 years of age distributed bread, water among the demonstrators. Each of the demonstrators cut a mouthful of bread and then handed it over to his comrade, so did they act with the water, sips after sips. It was passed from hand to hand. In such a way we remained in the street until half past seven in the evening, cheering and singing songs. At half past seven, numerous military and police forces appeared. They came in from Belgrade and Zagreb. These forces rushed onto us and, together with them, tear gas bombs were hurled at us. At the same time, the Serbs began to shoot at us from the windows.

The policemen hit mercilessly and sent to jail everybody they caught. Thousands were the tanks, policemen, soldiers engaged. These forces put Pristina under an iron encirclement. 7 persons were killed during the first day. Calamity arose on the second day, not only in Pristina, but throughout Kosovo, in Podujevo, Vucitrn, Ferizaj, Suva Reka, etc.

Is there any history that can describe such events, the persons killed on that day from the tanks and machineguns of the Serbs? This was a real struggle. Is there any people that the child of 12 years of age, carrying a flag in his hand, jump onto the tank and wave the flag? Where is it seen that children of 10 years of age, under the boots of policemen, shout: long live Kosovo? Where is it seen that children oppose the cap-a-pie armed policemen throwing mud and dust at their eyes? This day cannot be forgotten.

Peasants, too, raised on their feet and went in defence of Pudujevo and other cities. During this day about 300 people were killed. The figure of 9 persons was a mere lie.

So far, I had not known myself the son of what people I had belonged to. Prior to these events, I was thinking to again come there, whereas now, even if you give me the world, I do not move from here. I prefer to stay here even on bread and cheese. Now I learned for what I must die. Homeland is above everything. It was so bad of us to come there and we nearly lost our Albanian language, customs and traditions.

Come to see the situation yourself. Come to see your homeland. Come here to write about the Albanian flag, about the martyrs, and render glorious songs to them. In short, come here and life will have another meaning to you when you will do something for the homeland.... Well, come to see how did the martyrs fight against the guns.... Come and join our struggle. If Yugoslavs are not granting us our rights, all Kosovo will keep on fighting.... How can we stay in face of thousands of prisoners and hundreds of persons killed? Perhaps at these moments we are rather grieved, but we are stronger than ever, because apart from our courage, we have now our convictions.

CPSU LETTER TO POLAND 'ARROGANT', 'THREATENING'

AU131356 Tirana ATA in English 0905 GMT 13 Jun 81

[On the Situation in Poland--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 13 Jun (ATA)--The situation in Poland continues to be grave. This was confirmed once again at the Extraordinary Plenum of the Polish United Workers' Party and at the meeting of the Sejm. In his speech both at the Plenum and the Sejm the prime minister Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that "The deep and all-round crisis has reached a crucial point". The grave economic, political and social situation was also the topic of all the speeches made at the recent Plenum. It reflected the confusion that prevails in the present-day Polish revisionist leadership.

The tension increased still more by a letter of the C.C. of the Soviet revisionist party, which was discussed at the Extraordinary Plenum and was published by the Polish press. Kremlin's letter full of arrogance, prepotence and threats once more shows that the Soviet social-imperialists are doing their utmost, resorting to pressure and dictate, not to allow Poland slide in the Western camp, because this would endanger Soviet hegemony in the eastern countries, would endanger the vital roads of the Soviet Army in Europe, would put at stake the actual Soviet strategy, which is based on the strength of military attack. The Kremlin chieftains are tightening more and more the screws of their Polish vassals. On the other hand, the discussions made at the recent Plenum of the C.C. of the Polish United Workers' Party once more showed that the Polish leadership is divided in various pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet, antionalist and chauvinist, reformist and clerical factions and groups.

The Polish news agency PAP reports that the Prime Minister Jaruzelski proposed to the Polish Sejm the "resignation" of five ministers, the vice-prime Minister Kisiel included.

All this proves of the very grave situation revisionist Poland is in at present.

TRADE AGREEMENT FOR 1981 SIGNED WITH AUSTRIA

AU141408 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Text] Tirana, 14 Jun (ATA)--The protocol on trade exchanges and payments between the Government of the People's Socialist Republic [PSR] of Albania and the Government of the Republic of Austria for 1981 was signed in Vienna on June 12.

The protocol was signed for the Albanian side by the minister of foreign trade, Nedin Hoxha and, for the Austrian side by the minister of trade, industry and handicraft, Dr Josef Staribacher.

Present at the signing ceremony were the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania to Austria, Musin Kroi, as well as the members of the two delegations.

ALGERIAN PRESIDENT BENDJEDID MAKES OFFICIAL VISIT

Arrival in Sofia

AU101750 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] At the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, on 10 June Chadli Bendjedid, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and National Liberation front secretary general, arrived in Bulgaria on an official visit. At Sofia Airport, he was greeted by Comrade Todor Zhivkov and other officials.

Meeting With Zhivkov

AU101925 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Chadli Bendjedid, Algerian president and secretary general of the National Liberation Front of Algeria, visited Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman at the Boyana residence. Questions pertaining to bilateral relations and topical international issues were discussed in a friendly atmosphere. A short while ago, an official dinner given by Comrade Todor Zhivkov for the Algerian president and those accompanying him began.

Official Dinner 10 Jun

AU101953 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] On 10 June Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, gave an official dinner in honor of Chadli Bendjedid, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and secretary general of the National Liberation Front party. The dinner, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, was attended by Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Ognyan Doynov, Peko Takov, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Georgi Yordanov, Dimitur Stanishev, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Milko Balev, Misho Mishev and Vasil Tsanov; Vladimir Bonev, National Assembly chairman; members of the State Council and government; BCP Central Committee department heads, and leaders of mass-political organizatons and unions.

Stefan Petrov and (Mohamed Bouzada), the two countries' ambassadors, and the officials accompanying the Algerian president also attended the dinner. During the dinner, the two countries' first leaders toasted each other.

Talks on 11 June

AU111131 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Text] Official talks between Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, and Chadli Bendjedid, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and secretary general of the National Liberation Front, have begun at the Boyana residence. Issues pertaining to bilateral relations were discussed.

Prior to this, Chadli Bendjedid laid a wreath on the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum and paid tribute at his sarcophagus. The esteemed Algerian guest expressed his respects to the immortal leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people. Military honors were also presented. Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council, and Belcho Belchev, minister of finance, as well as the ambassadors of the two countries, Stefan Petrov and Mohamed Bouzada, attended the ceremony.

More on Talks

AU111500 Sofia BTA in English 1355 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Text] Sofia, 11 Jun (BTA)--This morning official Bulgaro-Algerian talks opened here. They began with a personal meeting between Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the State Council, and Mr Chadli Bendjedid, president of Algeria and secretary general of the National Liberation Front party. Later on other party and state officials of the two countries joined the talks.

The possibilities for placing Bulgaro-Algerian economic cooperation on a long-term planned basis by coordinating 5-year plans, were high on the agenda of the talks. The need was stressed for a wider use of modern forms of labour division, such as industrial cooperation, the setting up of joint organizations and the joint entry on third markets.

The two parties to the talks expressed the opinion that favorable opportunities are at hand for the expansion of economic, scientific and technological relations in the sphere of agriculture and the water economy, in the mining industry, mechanical engineering and chemistry.

A common concern and anxiety were voiced over the straining of international tension through the fault of imperialist forces, most of all through the fault of the United States.

Particular attention was paid in the talks to the actions of Israel, which, aided and abetted by the United States, continues to strain the situation in the Middle East with its unceasing aggressive actions against Lebanon, the air raid over the nuclear research center near Baghdad was referred to as an act of international terrorism.

The two parties to the talks spoke in favor of promoting detente and in favor of disarmament.

Information was exchanged on the situation in the regions in which Bulgaria and Algeria lie.

The Bulgarian party to the talks included: the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, the secretaries of the CC of the BCP, Mr Dimitur Stanishev and Mr Milko Balev, the vice president of the State Council, Mr Mitko Grigorov, the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr Kiril Zarev, the minister of finance, Mr Belcho Belchev and the deputy chairman of the National Assembly, Mr Nikolay Georgiev.

The Algerian party to the talks included: Mr (Sliman Hoffman), member of the CC of the National Liberation Front Party and chairman of the commission for foreign affairs of the party, Mr Mohamed Hadj Yala, member of the CC of the party and minister of finance, Mr Abdelhamid Brahimi, member of the CC of the party and minister of planning and development, Mr Dembri Mohamed Salah, secretary general at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr (Abdallah) Nouaouria, deputy chairman of the National Assembly.

Bendjedid Statement

AU111600 Sofia BTA in English 1457 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Text] Sofia, 11 Jun (BTA)--The Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid paid great attention to the situation in the Middle East in his statement made prior to departure from Bulgaria. Stressing that the present dangerous situation in the region endangered all countries, small and big alike, he said that the situation has resulted from the lack of respect and the recurrent Israeli threats levelled at the people of Palestine, and from the Israeli rejections to respect the Palestinian rights. This situation has also resulted from the incessant threats and interference of Israel in the internal affairs of Lebanon, from the use of barbarous methods within Lebanon, and also from the constant threats against Syria and lastly from the latest aggressive action against Iraq.

"All this testifies to the Israeli intentions and we are well aware that Israel is accompliced by the forces of imperialism, which aid it comprehensively and support it in all its actions" said Mr Chadli Bendjedid.

He thinks that the Arab peoples facing the Israeli Zionist enemy can oppose the attempts at utilizing their natural wealth, the attempt at dealing a blow to their development. His conviction is that the defense of the dignity and the liberty of the Arab peoples requires the concentration of their efforts. "Recently" he added, "we have noticed a striving to get out of the framework of verbal statements, and to make concrete decisions in the name of the Arab popular masses. It is necessary to take a concrete and categoric decision capable of restoring the dignity, the authority and the honor of the Arab world".

Mr Chadli Bendjedid expressed confidence that his Bulgarian visit and that his talks with Mr Todor Zhivkov would provide a fresh impetus to the development of Bulgaro-Algerian cooperation.

Departure 11 June

AU111647 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1530 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Text] On 11 June Chadli Bendjedid, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and secretary general of the National Liberation Front Party, departed from Bulgaria. At the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, he paid an official visit to Bulgaria.

At Sofia Airport, which was decorated with the two countries' flags, the high guest was seen off by Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Peko Takov, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Georgi Yordanov, Dimitur Stanishev, Milko Balev, Vasil Tsanov; Vladimir Bonev, National Assembly chairman; Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council; Grigor Stoichkov, Kiril Zarev, and Stamen Stamenov, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers; BCP Central Committee department heads; ministers; and leaders of sociopolitical and mass organizations.

Chadli Bendjedid, accompanied by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, received the report of the honor guard. The national anthems of the two countries were played. Comrade Todor Zhivkov accompanied the high guest to the airplane and bade him a friendly goodby.

ZHIVKOVA-LED DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR VIENNA

AU111130 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Text] A Bulgarian cultural delegation led by Lyudmila Zhivkova, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the committee for culture, left for Vienna today to attend the celebrations devoted to the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state.

At Sofia Airport the delegation was seen off by Georgy Yordanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Milcho Germanov and Pavel Pisarov, first deputy chairmen of the Committee for Culture, deputy ministers, high-ranking officials at the Committee for Culture and at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as by Mrs Berta Braun, Austrian ambassador to Bulgaria.

BULGARIAN, HUNGARIAN DEPUTY MINISTERS MEET IN SOFIA

AU111948 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Text] From 8 to 11 June in Sofia, consultations took place between Mariy Ivanov, Bulgaria's first deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Istvan Roska, Hungary's deputy minister of foreign affairs, on topical international issues and the two countries' relations. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, received Istvan Roska and had a talk with him on matters of common interest.

GREETINGS EXCHANGED WITH AFGHAN FOREIGN MINISTRY

AU111937 Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Text] Sofia, 11 Jun (BTA)--In connection with the 20th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Afghanistan, the two countries' ministers have exchanged cables of greetings.

In the course of this comparatively short period, Mr Petur Mladenov's cable [?read], Bulgaro-Afghan relations have developed considerably, and after the victory of the April Revolution and especially in its second stage, they have been raised to new qualitative level.

Shah Mohammad Dost writes in the telegram he sent: from the very beginning, our relations rest on mutual respect for the independence, the territorial integrity and the national sovereignty and they are constantly promoted. After the April Revolution and especially after its second phase the fraternal international cooperation has strengthened further our bilateral relations.

The two ministers express their confidence that Bulgaro-Afghan relations will continue to develop and strengthen in the two peoples' interest, for safeguarding peace, detente and cooperation in the world.

JOINT SOVIET-BULGARIAN COMMUNIQUE ISSUED

For the PRAVDA text of the joint Soviet-Bulgarian commuique issued on the completion of the 1-2 June Moscow visit of Petur Mladenov, Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs, see page F 4 of the 10 June Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

TRADE UNION DELEGATION'S VISIT TO USSR REPORTED

AU101944 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] At the invitation of the All Union Central Council of the USSR Trade Unions, from 8 to 10 June a delegation of the Bulgarian Trade Union Central Council, led by Comrade Petur Dyulgerov, visited the USSR.

The delegation met Aleksey Shibayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council, and other Soviet trade union leaders. During the talks, which took place in a fraternal and cordial atmosphere, opinions on a broad range of questions of mutual interest were exchanged. Information on the topical tasks of the trade unions of the two countries, springing from the decisions of the two parties' congresses, was exchanged. Information was also exchanged on the preparations for the 17th congress of the USSR and ninth congress of the Bulgarian trade unions. Topical issues of the international trade union movement and the preparations for the 10th world congress of trade unions were also discussed.

CONFERENCE WITH CAPITALIST COUNTRIES OPENS IN SOFIA

AU101003 Sofia BTA in English 0855 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Sofia, 10 Jun (BTA)--A meeting on the questions of trade and economic cooperation between Bulgaria and the industrially developed capitalist countries for the 1981-1985 period opened here today. The meeting is organized by the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry and by "Business International." In the course of three days representatives of 50 companies of Austria, Great Britain, Belgium, Italy the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, Switzerland, France and other countries will meet leaders of Bulgarian economic organizations to review the chances for expanding mutually advantageous economic cooperation.

In his opening speech Mr Petur Rusev, president of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said that the meeting is attended by representatives of states which hold substantial share in the East-West trade and that the meeting marks a step in strengthening the relations of economic cooperation between Bulgaria and the developed capitalist states in the spirit of the Final Act of Helsinki.

He said that the meeting was significant not only for the ends of economic cooperation, but for the purposes of strengthening the process of detente in the world. The speaker made the participants in the meeting familiar with some of the economic tasks Bulgaria is to cope with in the coming years. It was pointed out that at present Bulgaria maintained economic ties with 120 countries and that in 1980 her trade amounted to 20 milliard dollars and expectations running to 40 percent higher in the 1981-1985 five year period.

The participants in the meeting were greeted by the director general of Business International, Mr (Jose Mester) and by the first deputy minister of foreign trade of Bulgaria, Mr Petur Bashikarov.

At the meeting reports will be read concerning industrial cooperation with Western firms, joint entry at third markets, exchanges of technologies, know-how and others.

BULGARIA'S ZHIVKOV CONGRATULATES PEN SOVAN ON ELECTION

BK100555 Phnom Penh SPK in French 1430 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] Phnom Penh, 9 Jun (SPK)--On the occasion of Pen Sovan's election to the position of general secretary of the KPRP, Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, sent the following message to congratulate Pen Sovan:

I wish you new and great successes in your duty to implement the decisions of the Fourth KPRP Congress in order to build a peaceful, democratic, independent and free Kampuchea advancing toward socialism in friendship and close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community.

We are certain that the fraternal relations between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the KPRP will become stronger and more developed in the future on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and proletarian internationalism for the well-being of our peoples and for the victory of socialism and peace.

CORRECTION TO NATIONAL ELECTION RESULTS

The following correction to the item entitled "National Election Results Published 8 June," published in the 9 June Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT on page C 2; is supplied from a repeat of the item by BTA:

First paragraph of the item, last line make read: This figure stands for 99.96 percent of the 6,526,782 voters put on the electors' list.

"6,519,674 electors, or 99.93 percent of all voters, cast their ballots for the 400 nominees of the Fatherland Front." (supplying indistirct passage).

RUDE PRAVO ON CPSU LETTER TO POLISH HIERARCHY

LD131034 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 13 Jun 81

[From the press review]

[Text] We are reading from RUDE PRAVO today, which carries an editorial entitled: A Historic Responsibility, on the letter of the CPSU Central Committee to the PZPR Central Committee. The editorial is also carried by the Slovak PRAVDA.

The letter stresses with full urgency, noted the editorial, that the current situation in Poland is dangerous and has reached a critical point. The enemies of socialist Poland are fighting for power and are conquering one position after another. The danger threatening socialist Poland also endangers the very existence of an independent Polish state. The highly dangerous situation has arisen because the enemies of socialism, the counterrevolutionary forces supported and inspired by imperialist anticommunist centers, have exploited the fact that as a consequence of past mistakes, a deep crisis had arisen in the country. RUDE PRAVO recalls that this crisis affected the entire political, economic and ideological life of the country and the leadership of the PZPR had not offered a resolute resistance to the attempts of the enemies of socialism. Dangerous concessions to antisocialist forces and to their blackmailing demands resulted in the fact that the PZPR, step by step, succumbed to the pressures of internal counterrevolution which relied on the support of imperialist subversionist centers abroad, stresses the letter of the CPSU Central Committee.

The CPSU Central Committee, RUDE PRAVO goes on, in this complicated situation addressed a letter to the PZPR Central Committee. This is usual in relations between fraternal communist parties. The letter, as is obvious from its text, is motivated by sincere and profound apprehensions about the fate of socialism in Poland. The comradely, open and principled words of the letter reveal quite convincingly the profound interest of the CPSU in the upholding of socialism in Poland--a member country of the Warsaw Treaty and of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance.

We in socialist Czechoslovakia, notes the RUDE PRAVO editorial, fully and unequivocally identify ourselves with the letter of the CPSU Central Committee. It expresses our interests too, that the situation in fraternal Poland should consolidate, that we possess a reliable a faithful ally beyond our northern border. Developments of the situation in Poland show that the counterrevolutionary forces are using similar tactics and have the same aims as 13 years ago when they attempted a counterrevolutionary turn in Czechoslovakia, stresses RUDE PRAVO.

Our experiences from these difficult years reveal as a basic lesson that one cannot give ground before counterrevolution, that one cannot in an opportunist manner abandon one position after another. This merely spurs the counterrevolutionary forces to more, and yet more, pressures and expands possibilities for its true designs. To retreat before counterrevolution means to betray socialism, to betray the interests of the people.

Our experiences also reveal, the RUDE PRAVO editorial recalls further, where a situation can lead when forces hostile to socialism gain--be it only for a time--effective control over mass communication media and have thus the opportunity of misusing them as an instrument of disinformation and disintegration of socialist structures. Our experiences also show that it is vitally necessary to offer a resolute resistance to counterrevolutionary elements which strive to weaken and disintegrate the socialist social system.

In this hard struggle the leading role of the party, its ideological and action firmness, constitute a fundamental guarantee. The more dangerous is everything which weakens it or disintegrates its unity, strength and bonds with the masses. The more are we disturbed by the fact, writes RUDE PRAVO, that in fraternal Poland the counterrevolutionary danger is not sufficiently confronted, that concessions follow concessions, that there occurs one compromise after another, that one position of socialism after another is being abandoned to the counterrevolution.

The Czechoslovak communists and all Czechoslovak people have followed with great attention the course of the deliberations of the 11th session of the PZPR Central Committee, at which a number of Polish comrades voiced sharp, critical [words indistinct] of the antisocialist forces, notes the RUDE PRAVO editorial. The course of the deliberations again confirmed how profound is the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the current situation in Poland continued in the letter of the CPSU Central Committee.

There is no doubt that if a turn is to take place then the words expressed at that meeting must be followed by deeds and resolute actions against the counterrevolutionary and antisocialist forces.

At the 16th CPCZ Congress, Comrade Gustav Husak stressed that our people follow events in fraternal Poland with apprehension. Historic experiences have taught us how important it is to possess a good and reliable neighbor and ally. We are aware of the fact, writes RUDE PRAVO, how important it is when a neighboring country occupies a key strategic position, and from the point of view of the common defense of the socialist community, too.

We are linked with fraternal socialist Poland by countless bonds--political, economic and cultural. That is why we have a profound interest that the onslaught [napor] of the counterrevolution is repelled and that socialist Poland develops as a firm, orderly, state where the authority of law applies and where people can work and live in calm.

However, the situation in Poland is not improving, stresses the RUDE PRAVO editorial. The political crisis has deepened, forces hostile to socialism are undermining the economy of the state, the ideology and social structures. The crisis is the more dangerous for having deeply affected the PZPR, whose congress is to be held in only a few weeks. The forces hostile to socialism--opportunists and revisionists--ever more influence the preparations of the congress. The so-called movement of horizontal structures destroys the unity of the party and a real danger arises that rightist and opportunist forces will attempt at the PZPR Congress to deal a decisive blow to Marxist-Leninist forces, that they will attempt to liquidate the party and turn it into an organization of a social-democratic type.

The Czechoslovak and Polish people are bound by long-lasting traditional links, notes RUDE PRAVO. Our nations fought more than once in history shoulder to shoulder for progress and peace. Our friendship was sealed in blood shed jointly by Czechoslovak, Soviet and Polish soldiers in World War II. As the Czechoslovak people have the most faithful friend in the USSR, so the Polish people have them too. The more are we shocked by the facts that antisocialist forces are fomenting antisovietism in Poland, that graves of Soviet soldiers and symbols which are holy for us are being defiled. Is it not a proof, is it not a warning, that counterrevolution will not stop even before the greatest brutality on the proponents of socialism, asks the RUDE PRAVO leader.

We are a socialist country which lies in the heart of Europe, the editorial recalls further. Our Western border is part of the border which divides the world of socialism and capitalism. Along with our socialist allies we are striving to change our planet into a planet of peace, on which neither this nor the future generations will be threatened by the danger of a war. This is also the reason why we, along with the Polish patriots, are expressing our warning of the designs of all reactionary forces who are connecting their attempts to revise the results of World War II in Europe, the results of the treaties of the anti-Hitler coalition in Yalta and Potsdam, and in this way disturb the balance of power in Europe and in the world, with the development in Poland. Plans of this kind are completely condemned to failure.

Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, recalls RUDE PRAVO, pointed out in his speech at the congress of our party the wide interconnections of the imperialist fight against the socialist world. He said that these class enemies are attempting to do everything to prevent the advance of socialism, to undermine it from inside. The use, to achieve this aim, all means of economic pressure, blackmail, false propaganda, tricks and demagogy. They are supporting and inciting counterrevolutionary forces where such forces still remain; they organize most diverse undermining actions. Similar attempts are now made against the Polish People's Republic. It can be presupposed that Polish communists, supported by all real Polish patriots, will be able to make a proper stand against the intentions of the enemies of the socialist order, who are at the same time the enemies of the independence of Poland; that they will be able to defend socialism, the real interest of their people, the honor and the security of their homeland.

The CPCZ and our people, says RUDE PRAVO further, are supporting the Polish communists, the working class and the working people, all real followers of socialism in Poland in their struggle to repel the attack of counterrevolution, to solve the accumulated problems, and strengthen the socialist social order. A huge historical responsibility for the fate of socialism, for the fate of the country lies on the shoulders of the Polish communists, of the leadership of the party and of the Polish working class. In their difficult struggle they can count upon the full support and help of Czechoslovak communists, of our entire homeland.

The countries of the socialist community are striving, in the interest of the people, for further development and strengthening of socialism. They are fulfilling this task in complicated international conditions, in a situation in which imperialism is endeavouring to reverse the peaceful development and halt the advance of the forces of progress. In this situation, continuous consolidation of the unity of fraternal socialist countries and their all-round and continuously deepening cooperation in the development and defense of socialism, is of exceptional importance, emphasizes RUDE PRAVO in its editorial article called "Historical Responsibility".

1968 EXPERIENCE RELEVANT TO POLISH SITUATION

LD131944 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 13 Jun 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] For a number of months our people have been following with growing concern, sometimes with surprise and often with exasperation, the events in neighboring Poland. The recent sessions of the PZPR Central Committee plenum and the Polish Sejm have urgently revived various questions and problems. Some critical voices heard at the plenary session with indisputable openness have shown how serious the situation is and to what dangerous extremes the country has been brought by the consistent subversive activity of antisocialist and counterrevolutionary forces to whome the hesitant, conciliatory and defensive attitude of party and state bodies gives such a broad scope for maneuver that it endangers the basis of socialism in Poland and its independent state existence.

The catastrophically chaotic economic situation, the political-ideological disorientation of broad strata, the anarchistic destabilization of the social structure and legal norms, the opportunist tendencies in the party itself, the rapid upsurge of religious fanaticsm, together with chauvinist intolerance and hysterial anti-Sovietism which does not even stop at desecration of the graves of Soviet soldiers who died for the freedom of Poland are all accompanying phenomena of the situation to which we as close neighbors and allies cannot be indifferent. This is all the more true in the context of the current international situation characterized by the general attack of imperialist forces on the unity and security of the socialist society, on detente, international cooperation, all that is progressive and freedom-loving in the world.

This is why the letter which the CPSU Central Committee sent to the PZPR Central Committee was met by our people with such attention, understanding and agreement, but also with relief and hope. The letter calls things by their right names. It points clearly and in a manner of high principle at the danger and at the same time is an expression of fraternal solidarity. It fully expresses the profound fears of our people over the fate of socialism in Poland and at the same time a common interest that the crisis in the country be successfully overcome so that it ceases to threaten the stability and security of the defensive alliance of the Warsaw Treaty.

The historical experiences of our people confirm that nothing is as important for a peaceful and creative life as having next to us consolidated, reliable and peace-loving neighbors and, even more importantly, faithful allies, nations with the same goals and resolutions, among which we continue to include fraternal Poland with which we are linked by historical traditions and the blood shed together in the struggle against fascism.

Our people lived through, relatively recently, an attempt by world imperialism to effect a counterrevolutionary reversal of the power of the people and socialist system such as the one to which Poland is now being exposed. But the pressure of the latter is even greater. This is why they fully identify themselves and totally understand the letter sent by the Soviet communists which points at the necessity to resolutely and fundamentally oppose the counterrevolutionary attempts. In this sense the letter constitutes invaluable internationalist assistance to the Polish working class to enable it to correctly understand the situation. It is thus of help to the Polish party in working out an effective strategy for the defense of socialist gains.

Only a principled Marxist-Leninist assessment of the situation and its causes and of all current phenomena and a consistent class approach towards the solution of problems can lead People's Poland out of the deep crisis. No flirting with the rightwing and, even less, conciliatory duplicity or hypocrisy can bring about a rememdy. The public, and not only ours, rightly has the impression that someone is attempting to save a sinking ship by bailing water with a teaspoon. This is how ineffective are the measures taken so far by the leadership of the Polish party and Government against the still more audacious and open activity of the counter-revolution. Ten months of constant concessions confirm that there is no way out in this direction, that it only further encourages the antisocialist and counterrevolutionary elements. The best words, plans, appeals and recommendations cannot have any real effect if they are not followed by decisive deeds. Our experiences from the crisis-ridden period 13 years ago unequivocally show that concessions and leniency toward the counterrevolution are equal to capitulation and betrayal of socialism. One cannot reach an agreement with someone who does not want an agreement and who is after one thing only: the liquidation of socialism. Thus, it is the class and internationalist duty of all Polish communists and honest patriots, above all the Polish working class, to mobilize all forces to ward off the counterrevolutionary onslaught, to strengthen socialism and to normalize the situation. All those who have dedicated their work, efforts and will to the struggle for a socially just, free and secure world, for friendship, understanding and peace among nations have the right to demand this from the Polish working class. They also have the duty to support the Polish people in their difficult struggle. As far as we are concerned, the official stands of the party, government and 16th CPCZ Congress and those of millions of our citizens at preelection meetings, in party organizations and in sections of the National Front clearly support this effort and trust that the Polish working people, despite today's danger, will pave the way towards a clear and secure future in firm unity with their socialist friends and allies.

CPSU LETTER CONTRIBUTES TO EUROPEAN STABILITY

LD141018 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0730 GMT 14 Jun 81

["Review of the Week" program presented by Antonin Kostka]

[Excerpts] The anti-Soviet speech by General Haig, U.S. Secretary of State, delivered on Friday in Hong Kong where he stopped off on his way to China, cannot be called statesmanlike, or even less, responsible. He used as a pretext for his attacks, slanders and threats to Moscow, the letter of the CPSU Central Committee which expressed the moral solidarity of the Soviet people with the healthy forces in Poland in their struggle against counterrevolution, inspired in its antisocialist activity above all by the United States itself.

Haig's speech is reminiscent, like the U.S. support for Israel, of the attitude of an incendiary who, after he has set the house on a fire does not want anyone to extinguish it.

The letter of the CPSU Central Committee to the leadership of the Polish party was a contribution to European stability. The letter is a deep, Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation in Poland and of the internal and external causes of the crisis, and therefore it can become a basis for averting the antisocialist onslaught of the counterrevolution by mobilizing all healthy forces which are consistently following class positions. The letter shows unambiguously that the constructive overcoming of the present crisis and renewal of socialist order and legality in Poland is in the interest of not only the Polish people themselves, but also of the whole defense community of the Warsaw Pact--of which Poland is an inseparable part. The indicisive, inconsistent and puzzled proceedings against the counterrevolutionary elements so far, only encourage the enemies of socialism and jeopardize the most intrinsic interests as well as the national existence of Poland as such. Further yielding to counterrevolution would be equivalent to a class betrayal, would threaten the security of the whole Warsaw Pact, and with it stability in Europe and the balance of power in the world, which is the main guarantee of permanent peace. Therefore, the Polish working class and the Polish communists have a great historical responsibility to their own nation, as well as to the nations of the allied countries.

The letter of the CPSU Central Committee expressed in this way the worries and viewpoints, hopes and expectations of all progressive people, as well as of our entire public. They logically connect the calm and active life in their homeland with the constructive development of the whole community of the socialist states. Therefore, as the highest representative of our republic Comrade Gustav Husak, said at the 16th congress, the Polish communists, the working class and the working people can fully rely upon our people in their struggle for the consolidation of socialism.

In the context of the current international situation, normalization of the situation in Poland would thwart one of the most insidious attacks of imperialism against detente and peaceful life, and would significantly strengthen stability in Europe.

PRAGUE TV COMMENTATOR VIEWS POLISH SITUATION

LD122359 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1945 GMT 12 Jun 81

[Jiri Jambor commentary]

[Text] One has to start from the very beginning and place things into certain broader past context. For some time now a trend has been apparent in Western political circles and their communication media. They have been saying in effect that the situation in Poland is becoming calmer and that everything is more or less all right. The main purpose of this whole exercise has been clear from the very beginning--to try to dull vigilance and in a quiet way to create conditions for a further brutal curtailment of the positions of socialism in Poland.

It was in the course of the discussion at the latest session of the PZPR Central Committee, to which the important letter of the CPSU Central Committee made a significant contribution, which again showed the true state of affairs and the sharply increasingly threat to the cause of socialism in Poland. In the PZPR Central Committee there are enough comrades who are able critically and objectively to assess the developments in that country and who are ready to draw logical conclusions from the existing dangerous state of inertia.

After all, any realistically thinking observer knows well that the situation in Poland is not being consolidated and that on the contrary, danger is intensifying as the consequence of continuing concessions. Those in Poland who are defending this development have apparently totally forgotten that they are going a long way toward discrediting for a long time what was and is truly necessary to rectify.

And it is a fact, and many observers have duly taken note of this, that if the development of the situation in Poland has so far not come to the worst, it is not because of the efforts of those responsible, who are instead marking time, restricting themselves to the repetition of the right words, and irrationally closing their eyes before the real state of affairs. It is rather due to the weight and influence of the factors and circumstances stemming from the position of other socialist countries.

Although it is possible to appeal and remind the rest of the country and the entire party of everything they should do, how they should behave, how they should defend socialism, it is the nature of things that no one and nothing can take away the main and decisive responsibility from the leadership, for it is above all the leadership which has to take decisive steps and measures, for it is the leadership which has, above all, the means at its disposal for this purpose and it is the leadership itself which has, above all, to show how to defend socialism.

The formulation that no force can replace the importance of social trust is beautiful, but, as is known, social trust is a very broad term. It is naive to believe that it is possible in socialism to satisfy the social trust of those who for a number of class-political or other reasons are standing or have placed themselves on the opposite side. In such moments of crisis, such as in Poland, it is better not to court the social trust of such circles and rather reckon that when things reach the critical stage nothing apart from resoluteness and strength is effective enough to counter their effort--there is no substitution for such resoluteness and strength. In any case the daily practice of the other side, in the way it treats its adversary, brings convincing evidence of this.

In some speeches at the plenary session there also arose the question and the thesis that the current developments in Poland have no alternative. This is, of course, a very shortsighted view, for the fact is that such an alternative does exist. It is to stop marking time, find enough political and statesmanlike wisdom and courage, preserve the revolutionary character of the leading force of Polish society--the PZPR, introduce order, start effective work, strengthen state power and social discipline and resolutely part ways with everything that is threatening the state interest of socialist Poland. One can add that this is the only possible alternative to existing developments.

The PZPR Central Committee drew such conclusions from the entire course of its deliberations and time will show very soon whether they have corresponded to the objective serious seriousness of the situation.

POLAND AVOIDING STEPS AGAINST COUNTERREVOLUTION

LD131816 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 13 Jun 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The situation in neighboring Poland is deteriorating and has reached a critical point. Deep crisis has hit the country's entire political and economic life, the enemies of socialist Poland are gaining positions and in many fields they have actually concentrated power in their hands.

In the stifling atmoshpere of nationalism, anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, the foundations of socialism are undermined step by step, and, with substantial interference by imperialist forces from abroad, plans are being hatched which threaten the independent existence of the Polish state.

As Tadeusz Grabski said at the 11th session of the Central Committee of the Polish communists, it can be described as a clear-cut and very well premeditated road towards uprooting socialism, liquidating the Polish United Workers' Party, and consequently towards the loss of Poland's independence and sovereignty. It is no secret who is the bearer of the counterrevolutionary activities in Poland. Starting from the extremist wing of the Walesa trade unions via the so-called Committee for Social Self-Defense to anarchist elements of the type of the so-called Confederation of Free Poland, anti-socialist forces have gained control over the country's mass media and employed them in their power plans. It can easily be recognized that this important instrument today serves the disruption of socialism and the party. These destructive actions are accompanied by efforts to disrupt security forces and the army. The socialist state is to be deprived of its power instruments and changed into a powerless puppet in the hands of the class enemy.

Such developments naturally rouse all honest people in Poland. This was clearly demonstrated at the 11th session of the Central Committee of the Polish United Worker's Party where the destructive activity of the counterrevolutionary forces was pointed out by a number of speakers who demanded decisive steps to be taken against these activities.

Developments in Poland are causing concern among Poland's allies. This has been clearly shown by the letter of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party addressed to the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party. Poland's neighbors and allies are following with deep apprehension the endless concessions in favor of the antisocialist forces and the fact that one position after another passes into their hands.

It is impossible to follow without apprehension that, on the one hand, the Polish United Worker's Party recognizes the existence of the counterrevolutionary danger, but on the other hand is not taking any steps against it. Moreover, the organizers and bearers of counterrevolution are not clearly pointed out. Nor is it possible to remain indifferent to the fact that in the leadership of local party organizations and among congress delegates there are people openly proclaiming opportunist views, that devoted communists are removed from their functions, that among the congress delegates there are a small number of working class representatives, not to mention the so-called horizontal structure movement which evidently is a tool meant to cause rupture within the party.

Quite naturally, the question emerges: Is it possible to prevent the forthcoming extraordinary party congress from becoming a platform for the class enemy attempting to deal a decisive blow to Marxist-Leninist forces and disrupt the Polish United Workers Party? Our concern is increased by the fact that the offensive of hostile counterrevolutionary forces in Poland threaten the interests of the entire socialist community, its cohesion, integrity and security of its borders. Imperialist encouragement of Polish counterrevolution obviously boils down to an attempt to change the balance of power in Europe to the disadvantage of socialism. Therefore, Poland's urgent task today is the mobilization of all sound forces in the struggle against counterrevolution. That demands, in particular, revolutionary decisiveness of the party itself, of its active members and leadership. This is stressed in the letter addressed by the Central Committee of the Soviet Union's communist party to the Polish communists. Time is not waiting. The party can and must rally forces within its ranks to change developments and, prior to its ninth congress, to set these developments on their correct course. End of quotation. [as heard]

The revolutionary achievements of the people of Poland are today in deathly jeopardy. This is felt just as urgently by Poland's allies as by Poland's patriots.

LITTERATEUR SAYS 'OFFENSIVE' NEEDED IN POLAND

LD141930 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Commentary by Czechoslovak poet Ivan Skala on situation in Poland]

[Excerpts] What is euphemistically called "the Polish events" has been exciting and disturbing for several months everyone in our country who respects the social and human values of socialism since not only the all-round development of life in our country but also the long-term prospect of peace throughout the world is linked with socialism. The guarantee of this long-term prospect is in the strength and unity of the great family of the socialist countries who enjoy the support of the Soviet Union. So we have been feeling for several months the serious and increasing danger to socialism in Poland as an urgent question concerning not only Polish communists and the honest and socialist working people of that fraternal country but also as something which concerns every one of us. These concerns and fears of ours were accurately described in the letter written by the CPSU Central Committee to the PZPR Central Committee.

I know the history of World War II, I know how deeply the Polish people and the Polish nation were humiliated by the most extremist representatives of imperialism, the Nazis who murdered millions of Poles, and so I cannot understand why in Poland the process of retreat continues all the time and why free rein is given to those who want to drag Poland from the path of socialism, and who act in the interest of the very imperialist forces of the West who, in the past, gave Poland such a cruel historical lesson.

Every demanding course is accompanied not only by successes but, naturally, also by shortcomings and mistakes. This has also been the case in Poland. But we communists have always believed and still believe that we are not afraid to admit our mistakes and we put them right ourselves. Otherwise they are used by the enemy who, under the cloak of putting mistakes right, gradually and with increasing emphasis, openness and aggression, will pursue its counterrevolutionary aims and intentions. Alas, it is precisely this process which has been going on in Poland for several months. The forces hostile to socialism, hostile to the interests of the Polish working people, hostile to the Polish nation, hostile to the Soviet Union, are carrying out an offensive which, of course, cannot be faced with indecision and increasing concessions. This bears out the historical responsibility and historical task for all the Polish communists who have remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism and all the Polish citizens who have remained loyal to socialism, and who alone are able to fulfill the true interests of the Polish people. At the moment the crucial issue for crisis-ridden Poland is that all honest patriotic forces should recover, unite and create a firm barrier to counterrevolution and the antisocialist forces who are dragging their country to destruction; they must start on offensive for the further development of socialism in Poland.

The Czechoslovak people, just as the Soviet people and the people of other socialist countries, stand alongside the forces in people's Poland who have remained loyal to socialism, and who are determined to defend it not only in words but also in deeds.

We have been and are the true friends and brothers of people's socialist Poland.

CTK NOTES CIRCULATION OF LEAFLETS IN POLAND

LD120920 Prague CTK in English 1335 GMT 12 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Jun (CETEKA)--Illegally printed leaflets containing slanderous fabrications and attacks on the Soviet Union and the leadership of the Polish United Worker's party are being distributed with impunity in Warsaw, in defiance of a resolution of the party Central Committee session providing for measures against persons circulating anti-socialist subversive printed matter.

REPORT OF SOVIET MONUMENT DESECRATED IN LUBLIN

LD141656 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Text] Poland: A monument to the Soviet soldiers who liberated the city of Lublin from fascism has been desecrated in the main square of that voivodship city. This new anti-Soviet provocation took place after a statement in the Sejm by Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, who said that the government would very strictly monitor cases of anti-Soviet actions and the Sejm approved a resolution appealing for strict measures against all manifestation of law-breaking.

'STAGE MANAGEMENT' OF CANNES AWARD TO WAJDA MOVIE

AU111800 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Jun 81 p 5

[Commentary signed (IH): "The Seal of 'World Opinion'"]

[Text] The decision to award the Golden Palm of the 34th Cannes Film Festival to the Polish movie "Man of Iran" was obviously made before the competition at the French Cote d'Azur actually started. Even some West European correspondents noted that this corresponded to the well thought out stage management of the festival. For this reason, everything possible and impossible was done to give the latest Andrezej Wajda move the seal of "world opinion" ["svethovost"]. The color movie was not even properly dry in the studios' laboratories--in the country of its origin it was not shown in a single movie theater and actually no one, with the exception of its authors, has seen it--and it was quickly, at the twelfth hour, dispatched to Cannes.

The film is about last year's events on the Polish coast. It is a loose continuation of Wajda's previous movie, "The Man of Marble," a movie that depticts the fifties in a very distorted manner. The scenario again was written by Aleksander Scibor-Rylski. It is typical that--as he admitted in one newspaper interview--he managed to write it in only a few days and despite the fact that during the August events he was on vacation on Yugoslavia's Adriatic coast.

The movie's "negative" hero is a journalist who lets himself be misused in collecting compromising material about one of the strike leaders, so that it can be used by television the moment the strike ends. The "positive" hero is Tomszyk, member of the inter-enterprise strike committee, that committee which later was transformed into the so-called "Solidarity" Independent Trade Union.

It certainly is no coincidence that a movie with such a theme made a breakthrough at the festival even before it was shown there. Despite that, the New York TIMES speaks about Wajda's "victory" and stresses that it was achieved after a long series of American movies' firsts (also here is apparently a connection!). Other newspapers, too have bashfully admitted that thus far no other Wajda movie has been publicly shown in the United States, and openly proposed that precisely "The Man of Iron" be shown there. However, those who are not struck by blindness and saw through the whole show know that the American upper class and the cosmopolitan part of the Western movie audience would be better to see, for example, Wajda's really important work "The Promised Land," a movie made on the basis of W. Reymont's novel, which depicts the moral fiasco of Lodz bourgeoisie at the turn of the century, a movie awarded at a Moscow festival, a movie from the times when the talented artist still served and was not servile.

ISRAELI ATTACK ON IRAQI REACTOR DENOUNCED

Foreign Ministry Condemnation

AU151017 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Jun 81 p 2

[CTK report: "CSSR Resolutely Condemns Israel's Aggressive Action; the Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the Israeli Air Attack on Iraq"]

[Text] Prague, 11 Jun (CTK)--On Thursday the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued the following statement on the Israeli air attack on Iraq:

The Czechoslovak people and the CSSR Government are profoundly concerned and indignant about the latest Israeli aggressive action against the Republic of Iraq. The piratical attack of the Israeli Air Force on the Iraqi nuclear research center is at sharp variance with the United Nations Charter and with the fundamental norms of international law, and reaffirms to the whole world the extremely dangerous role which the current Israeli Government plays in the tense situation in the Middle East. This inexcusable and unprovoked act of Israeli aggression against a sovereign state calls for the most resolute condemnation on the part of the entire world public and for the adoption of effective practical measures which would prevent Israel once and for all from continuing its dangerous aggressive and expansive policy vis-a-vis the neighboring Arab states, a policy which is seriously endangering world peace and security.

Also responsible for this act is the United States, without whose political support and military aid Israel would not be able to carry out similar acts of gangsterism which the Israeli Government demagogically explains by the necessity of "Israel's preventive defense."

This barbarous act of the Israeli rulers is a typical example of arrogance vis-a-vis the elementary norms of international law, which cannot be depicted as anything but international terrorism elevated to official state policy.

The CSSR resolutely condemns the gross act of Israeli aggression, which even more worsens and aggravates the explosive situation in the Middle East, and which could lead to unleashing a broad war conflagration.

The CSSR joins the wave of the world public's protests, which with justification resolutely condemns that action and believes that the world's peace-loving states will draw the necessary conclusions from it for their positions toward Israel. The CSSR is in favor of the UN Security Council's most resolute condemnation of that action and of its adopting a resolution on imposing sanctions of the aggressor in accordance with Chapter Seven of the UN Charter.

The statement of the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the Israeli air attack on Iraq was presented on Thursday by Stanislav Svoboda, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, to Anwar abd al-Qadir, ambassador of the Republic of Iraq to the CSSR.

U.S. Encouragement

AU111251 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Jun 81 p 7

[Milan Madr commentary: "State Gangsterism"]

[Text] The report on the attack by an Israeli air squadron on an Iraqi nuclear research center near Baghdad sounds almost incredible. The state that has for years been occupying six territories of four Arab countries [as published] when we restrict ourselves to this brief characterization of its profile--committed the grave, belligerent act under the hypocritical pretext that ir felt threatened by Iraq.

The obvious aggression against Iraq is not only provocative and dangerous but also shortsighted. It elevates tension in the Middle East to a new height and will maintain it at that level for a period of time whose length is difficult to estimate. By bombing Iraqi scientific installations, Israel has opened, in fact, a new front of its struggle against Arab countries. Just as in the past, this time, too, Israel is the aggressor.

Israel's Sunday aggression against Iraq was another step toward aggravating the situation in the Middle East. It demonstrated once again before the whole world that the Israeli Government has made international terrorism a tool and part of its official state policy.

It is noteworthy that the Washington administration immediately, in a token gesture, dissociated itself from the Israeli diversion. It was a gesture of hypocrites. The Israeli aggressor's audacity has been, in reality, emboldened precisely by the new American policy, by the policy of escalating international tension. It has been encouraged by American threats addressed to independent countries and by the formation of disciplinary expedition forces. The American ally has now demonstrated what such "disciplinary expeditions" to other countries are intended to look like.

The Israeli aggression against Iraq has again raised a problem, without the solution of which there can be no peace in the Middle East. It is Israel's brutally asserted claim to dominate the Middle East, in close collaboration with American imperialism. Israeli rights--no matter how absurd they may be in many respects--are in Israel's hegemonist view inviolable whereas the rights of the Arab neighbors and the people of Palestine--no matter how legitimate--are null and void. The most flagrant violation of Iraq's sovereignty and territorial inviolability during the air attack on the nuclear center at Tamuz has only been the most recent warning illustration of that.

U.S. Position Condemned

AU151109 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Jun 81 p 7

[Milos Krejci commentary: "Terrorists' Patrons"]

[Text] The U.S. foreign policy has been compared to a horse rider's attempt to ride a single horse in opposite directions at the same time. The U.S. attitude to the Israeli piratical action against Iraq is in complete harmony with that comparison.

Although the Reagan administration--under the pressure of protests and indignation throughout the world following the Israeli terrorist action--pretends to be surprised, the State Department verbally condemned the air attack. On the other hand, however, it emerges that the United States knew in advance of the Israeli preparations to raid the Iraqi installation, and according to the Beirut paper AS-SAFIR, the CIA prepared it together with the Israeli secret service.

That the U.S. "condemnation" of Israel is not that hot is also confirmed by the words of a representative of the U.S. State Department to the effect that the United States does not regard the Israeli air attack as an act of international terrorism and therefore will not renounce its "obligations" toward Israel. To these "obligations" belong, among other things, the deliveries of further fighter planes and arms, and of military hardware valued at $3 billion.

The Israeli act of terrorism, by the way, corresponds precisely to the principles of the Reagan administration's foreign policy, which rejects negotiations, tries to achieve military superiority and does not conceal its willingness to misuse it. The two governments also hold identical the views as regards international terrorism. According to them, terrorists are the national liberation movements and all who support them, while raiding foreign countries and state gangsterism, flagrantly violating international law and all diplomatic and moral customs and principles--as done recently by Israel--are, allegedly, not terrorism.

END OF PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM REPORTED

LD111614 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1200 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Excerpt] The 11th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee ended its 2-day deliberations shortly after midnight with a winding-up speech by Kania, [first name and title not given] reports the Polish news agency PAP.

NATIONAL PRESS ON ISRAELI ATTACK ON IRAQ

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 10 JUN

AU111730 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jun 81 p 2

[Article by "K.-H. W.": "Lie of the Threat a la Tel Aviv"]

[Text] As far as unscrupulous military force goes, the Zionist rulers in Tel Aviv outdo each other again and again. The most recent evidence of this is the act of piracy against Baghdad: with airplanes bought from the United States, the Israelis attacked the nuclear research center in the Iraqi capital on Sunday. One of the French technicians who is participating in the construction was killed in the attack.

As usual in such acts of gangsterism, this time also the Israeli rulers gave a "reason" as brazen as it is mendacious. Israel felt compelled to take this step because it feels threatened "by a possible nuclear capacity of Iraq," said regime leader Begin in Tel Aviv.

The groundlessness of this self-justification is only too obvious: The construction works at the reactor which was destroyed by the bomb attack were not yet completed. Moreover, the entire center is under control by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Begin argues like a footpad. Therefore one must ask oneself the question of what will make the rulers in Tel Aviv feel "threatened" tomorrow and against whom their terrorism, which is controlled by the state, will be directed. Thus the Begin clique has proved again to be the most dangerous peace-breaker in the Middle East; not to mention the enormous presumption vis-a-vis any Arab country, which, in accordance with the Israeli method of the "lie of the threat," is given orders as to what progressive technologies it is allowed to use.

The attack on Baghdad is the most recent chapter of a policy of aggression pursued by Tel Aviv since the foundation of Israel. With so-called preventive attacks according to the fascist model, Israel's military predominance in the Middle East is to be demonstrated in order to intimidate and blackmail the neighboring Arab countries.

The Israeli attack on Iraq must be seen in connection with imperialism's aggravated course of confrontation. It is directed against socialism as well as against national liberation movements. As is known, the spokesmen of international reaction have repeatedly announced pushing through their "interests" in the Gulf region "with all their means," that is nothing less than by force of arms. In this strategic concept, Israel plays a decisive role. Last but not least, its impudence is linked with the consciousness of being irreplaceable in the global-strategic plans of imperialism. Billions of dollars of military and other material injections confirm the aggressor in its role as peace-breaker.

Numerous governments and politicians throughout the world have condemned the Israeli act of aggression against Iraq--such as UN Secretary General Waldheim and France's Prime Minister Mauroy.

Even Washington felt compelled to express its "concern." But how credible can this declaration be, the Arab peoples, in particular, ask themselves. If one has supplied the aggressor with weapons for years in order to intimidate the countries in this region, then one must not fall into artificial surprise if Tel Aviv uses the American "Phantom" and F-15 for attacks. Thus the accusation of the world public regarding this most recent Israeli crime, which produces serious dangers for world peace, goes to the Zionist terrorists but also to those who equip them for "preventive" attacks and give them political aid.

"The most recent armed action of Tel Aviv against another Arab country again demonstrates," the Soviet press agency TASS stated in an official declaration, "that the peace forces must no longer hesitate to implement joint actions for bridling aggression."

DER MORGEN 10 Jun

AU111311 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 10 Jun 81 p 1

[Jan V. Flocken commentary: "Politics With Bombings"]

[Text] For months the situation in the Middle East has resembled a powderkeg. The military clashes in Lebanon, the conflict between Iraq and Iran, Israel's sanguinary occupation policy--all this ought to prompt any politician who thinks realistically at least to some extent to act circumspectly in that region.

This is not so with the gentlemen in Tel Aviv. Their patent prescription has always been: brutal violence. Violence against the Palestinian refugees, against neighboring states and against the opposition in their own country. Now Tel Aviv has dispatched planes with the Star of David to Baghdad. The target: a nuclear research center. The threadbare justification: Nuclear weapons are allegedly being built in that center. Hence an air attack replaced political arguments. But who is the terrorist here?

Let us think of the catastrophic international consequences if the Israeli model were imitated. Certainly the glorification of such acts of piracy as the abduction of gunboats from French ports, the theft of airplane patents from Switzerland and the raid on Entebbe has not helped to exert a moderating influence on Israel's political leadership.

Perhaps the realization will now assert itself among some gentlemen in Western Europe that one should not stand by a potential troublemaker, come what may.

The rulers of Menachem Begin's ilk should be shown their place by the world public. World peace is too precious an asset to let it be shattered by such running amok.

SED'S AXEN COMMENTS ON NATO MISSILE DECISION

AU100647 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Jun 81 p 4

[Heiner Scultz dispatch: "In an Election Talk With FDJ Members: Youth's Basic Rights Are Inalienable: Hermann Axen Spoke in Brandenburg, the City of the First Parliament"]

[Excerpt]

Vigilant Toward Imperialism

In the afternoon hours Hermann Axen, at a forum with 500 youths--some of whom are voting for the first time--replied to questions about the SED's domestic and foreign policy at the site of the first FDJ Parliament, the present Brandenburg Theater. Questioned by the FDJ Secretary Horst Lehmann of the enlarged Koenigswursthausen Secondary School about the dangers of the NATO missile decision, the candidate for election to the People's Chamber pointed out the nature of imperialism which is as aggressive as ever.

Fully misjudging the actual balance of power the reactionary quarters hope to achieve a military-strategic superiority over the Soviet Union to be able to talk to the socialist countries and the other progressive forces from a position of strength. This adventurous course of imperialist stepped-up armament endangers world peace and requires "revolutionary vigilance and an appropriate measure of defense power on our part."

SED'S MITTAG ADDRESSES DEFENSE MINISTRY PERSONNEL

AU111840 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jun 81 p 3

[Rainer Funke report: "Performance Increase Promotes our Stable Development"]

[Excerpt] On Tuesday Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, drew up an impressive balance sheet of the policy of the socialist German state of workers and peasants, aimed at the well-being of the people and at securing peace, at the election meeting in Strausberger Haus am See. Before army members and civilian employees of the National Defense Ministry, he expressed the certainty that the republic's working people and soldiers will focus all their strength and energy on those new tasks which the 10th SED Congress has formulated in the interest of each individual citizen.

Guenter Mittag valued the GDR's effective and constructive contribution to preserving and consolidating peace in Europe. He pointed out that the GDR is a state in which the exploitation of man by man has been eliminated forever, and where the people's well-being is the supreme principle.

The speaker underscored the close alliance with the Soviet Union which is primarily based on common social foundations, the common Marxist-Leninist ideology and the combat community of the CPSU and SED. Thus we forever stand at the side of human progress and its secure prospects, he said.

The GDR, Guenter Mittag reaffirmed, belongs to the 10 leading industrial nations of the world. Since the GDR's emergence, its economic development has always proceeded on the basis of growth. It is internally stable and possesses a high international authority, and knows how to protect and defend its revolutionary gains. In firm comradeship of arms with the Soviet army and the armed forces of the other socialist fraternal countries, the members of the National People's Army and of the GDR protective and security organs are substantially helping to preserve and stabilize peace. The self-sacrificing service of our soldiers constitutes a substantial contribution to protecting everything that is created by the people's hands from any imperialist plots.

The 10th SED Congress has adopted tasks for our present and future, Guenter Mittag stated, which serve the continuation of the general line contained in the SED program. This policy is a live reality for the GDR citizens. He stressed that as an efficient industrial state the GDR is keeping peace with international developments, and that it will successfully cope with the tasks of the eighties. Everything will also be done in future to build more apartments; to further increase the offered commodities, particularly with respect to quality and product variety; to safeguard stable prices for essential commodities, service, rents and rates and to further improve work and living conditions. "It is because we have built this state from ruins, because this state has grown close to our hearts, because it is the fatherland of all of us that our entire strength, our hearts and our brains belong to our socialist fatherland--the GDR," Guenter Mittag underscored to the strong applause of the army members and civilian employees.

PRESS REPORTS OLTEANU DINNER FOR HOFFMANN

AU110734 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jun 81 p 6

[ADN report: "Firm Combat Alliance Between National People's Army and the Romanian Comrades in Arms: Speeches by Maj Gen Constantin Olteanu and Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--Maj Gen Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania and candidate member of the political executive committee of the RCP Central Committee, gave a dinner on Thursday evening in the GDR capital of Berlin during the visit of a military delegation of the Romanian armed forces.

The invitation was honored by Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and minister of national defense; Deputy Defense Ministers Col Gens Heinz Kessler, Horst Stechbarth, Werner Fleissner and Wolfgang Reinhold; Adm Wilhelm Ehm, and by Lt Gen Klaus Dieter Baumgarten. Present were Gheorghe Tache, ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the GDR; GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Bernhard Neugebauer, Lt Gen Karl-Heinz Drews, city commander of the GDR capital of Berlin, as well as other generals and admirals.

In toasts the defense ministers reaffirmed the inviolable comradeship in arms between the Romanian armed forces and the National People's Army [NVA].

In his toast Minister Constantin Olteanu conveyed to the NVA members the soldiers' greetings of the Romanian comrades-in-arms and wished them new successes in strengthening the GDR's defense capability. The many meetings and talks in the GDR took place in a cordial atmosphere. He said: He noted with satisfaction "that the relations between our armies are in full harmony with the spirit of friendship and cooperation between Romania and the GDR and that we still have many opportunities to intensify them." The defense minister expressed thanks for the hospitality accorded him everywhere. Everywhere in the NVA he found proof of the constant solicitude of the party of the workers class and of the state leadership for supplying the army with all that it needs to discharge the mission assigned to it of protecting socialist achievements.

Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann thanked the Romanian defense minister for the extended soldiers' greetings. The guests had been able to see for themselves the friendship of the GDR people for Socialist Romania. He said: "The comradeship in class and arms of our armed forces is an important component of the multifaceted cooperation between our states, peoples and parties." The minister pointed out: "No enemy would shake or destroy it regardless of what methods he might use. "The peoples of the GDR and the Socialist Republic of Romania have the same friends and the same enemies. The soldiers of socialism will continue in the future to leave no opportunity for those enemies." The members of the two armies are closely cooperating within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and are jointly exploiting their findings and experiences to enhance the fighting strength and combat readiness. "Truth will be victorious, peace will win and socialism will win," the defense minister stressed. "Side by side with the powerful Soviet Union and its armed forces and at the side of the other Warsaw Pact armies the GDR working people and soldiers will continue to act in this spirit," he said.

HOFFMANN MEETS WITH HUNGARIAN ARMY OFFICIAL

LD111612 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0954 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Text] Berlin 11 Jun (ADN)--The high-speed ideological and material war preparations in the NATO states, especially in the United States and the FRG, demand high revolutionary vigilance from the working people and soldiers of the GDR and Hungary.

This was stressed by Army General Heinz Hoffman, SED Central Committee Politburo member and GDR minister for national defense, and Lt Gen Ferenc Karpati, deputy minister for national defense and chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Hungarian People's Army, during a friendly talk on Thursday. The guest is in the GDR on a working visit at the invitation of Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army of the GDR.

At a cordial meeting in the Ministry of Defense there was a lively exchange of views on topical problems pertaining to the international situation. Army General Heinz Hoffman and Lt General Karpati underlined the firm brotherhood-in-arms with the Armed Forces of the USSR and the other fraternal armies. The important thing was to reinforce the fighting strength and combat readiness of the units and formations and reliably protect socialism and peace against all imperialist attacks.

HONECKER SPEAKS AT KARL-MARX-STADT

Addresses Construction Workers

LD101110 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0900 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Excerpts] Berlin, 10 Jun (ADN)--At the start of the second day of his stay in Karl-Marx-Stadt, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, this morning met construction workers and inhabitants of the "Fritz Heckert" new housing estate. On behalf of the SED Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, Erich Honecker thanked the construction workers for their performance. He wished the more than 50,000 citizens who had moved into a modern new home on the estate in the south part of Karl-Marx-Stadt great happiness in this new part of the city.

Speaks at Electronics Factory

LD102059 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1200 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Excerpts] At election meetings in the Robotron Buchungsmaschinenwerk Karl-Marx-Stadt, Erich Honecker has explained that microelectronics is one of the pace-setting branches of production that require great attention. The most important thing at present is to combine all scientific-technical potential with the creativity of the workers in order to ensure the continued dynamic development of the national economy. Referring to his recent journey to Japan, Erich Honecker said that the GDR would also consistently follow a policy of peaceful coexistence in the future. It will, he said, do everything to prevent a third world war.

Election Meeting Speech

DW111755 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1730 GMT 10 Jun 81

["Excerpts" from address by SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker at Karl-Marx-Stadt--recorded]

[Text] I thank you warmly for your welcome at this wonderful election meeting. It is dominated by next Sunday's elections to the People's Chamber and the Bezirk Assemblies. We all know that this is not just a matter of form, as in bourgeois society, where promises made before the elections are not kept afterwards: Actually, they need no elections because others afterwards determine the course of action and deputies no longer remember their election promises.

You have thoroughly scrutinized your candidate. They come from your ranks. They will implement the policy outlined in the GDR National Front Election Manifesto, which is in the interest of the working class and of the people as a whole. [applause] Thus, it is important that on Sunday all citizens who have the franchise vote for the National Front candidates in order to chart the way for the next 5 years.

This way is quite clear for us. It was worked out at the 10th SED Congress and has been set out concisely in the GDR National Front Election Manifesto. It is socialism and peace--let me emphasize that at this impressive meeting in Karl-Marx-Stadt, this working class center, [applause] the well-being of the working class and of the people is the measure of all things for us. [applause]

When I was asked recently in Japan about the secret of our success, I answered: It lies in the confidence of the people in the word of our party. [applause, cheers] I answered: It lies in our determined fight for safeguarding world peace. [applause, cheers] I said that the alliance with the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries is the prerequisite for acting successfully for the welfare of the people. This is demonstrated by the experience of the decades of the development of our republic, and I can certainly say here that this is also demonstrated by the development of the Bezirk and city of Karl-Marx-Stadt. [applause]

I am happy that because of the suggestion of the National Front I can run as a candidate again here with you, in election precinct 37. It is for me a great honor to run as a candidate for the supreme people's representation of the GDR in your traditional city bearing the name of the founder of scientific socialism, Karl Marx, a city which has entered with its actions the history of the German revolutionary workers movement. I would like to thank you and all citizens of Karl-Marx-Stadt most cordially here. [applause]

The imperialist confrontation course, the missile policy and the stepped-up NATO armament create serious dangers for the people. If a real threat to Europe exists in our days, it is through the implementation of the dual decision of Brussels. In doing this, NATO wants to achieve strategic military superiority over the Warsaw Pact states. Naturally the countries of socialism can and will not look on passively. Nothing will come of the imperialist dreams of superiority.

In order to safeguard peace for the current and future generations, a determined and intensified struggle is necessary. Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev outlined at the 26th CPSU Congress in the new peace program of the Soviet Union concrete and realistic suggestions on arms limitation and disarmament. I can say here that the GDR fully and absolutely supports these peace suggestions. [applause] We will continue to contribute actively to their implementation. We are prepared to promote and take an active part in everything that serves the safeguarding of peace. The policy of peaceful coexistence of states of different social systems has always been sensible and all the more so today. There is really no reasonable alternative.

The irresponsible way in which the imperialist forces are gambling with peace is shown by the criminal attack by the Israeli Air Force on the capital of Iraq, on the nuclear research center in Baghdad. Our party and government most sharply condemn this act of terror. [applause] It is a cynical violation of international law and stresses the necessity again to force Israel to evacuate all occupied Arab territories, recognize the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, including the right to a Palestinian state under PLO leadership, and the return of the Palestinian people to their homeland.

The agenda of world politics above all contains the task of complementing political with military detente. We will not slacken our efforts until this task is solved. [applause] In one of his most beautiful poems, "The Song of Peace," Bertold Brecht wrote: Peace at home, peace next door, peace to our peaceful neighbor--all will thrive. Let it be so in the GDR and the world at large. [applause] (?In this sense), dear friends and comrades, dear people of Karl-Marx-Stadt, we will vote next Sunday for the good policy of socialism and peace, a policy which serves the well-being of all our people. On 14 June vote for the candidates of the National Front of the GDR.

STOPH, AXEN, OTHERS MAKE GDR ELECTION SPEECHES

LD102202 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1829 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Excerpt] Berlin, 10 Jun (ADN)--Willi Stoph, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, told a Dresden election meeting today that to preserve and strengthen peace as mankind's highest good was the foremost aim of the party and government. Leading candidates for the 14 June elections addressed meetings in other parts of the GDR, among them Politburo members of the SED Central Committee and leading representatives of friendly parties.

Willi Stoph told an audience of thousands in Dresden's Palace of Culture: "The forces dedicated to this lofty aim have never been as strong as they are today. Europe is experiencing the longest period of peace in this century thanks to real socialism. It is our purpose to defend and widen political detente and to stabilize and make it irreversable by measures of military detente and disarmament." He stressed that the decision of the SED Congress had inspired and invigorated the election preparations.

Hermann Axen, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary, said in Cottbus: "The imperialists, if they had their way, would like to stop and reverse the objective process of the national and social liberation of the peoples. Hence the U.S. sabotage of the ratification of SALT; hence the crazy arms drive of the arms lobby of the imperialist countries; hence the attempt, as dangerous as it is futile, to achieve by the deployment of new and deadly American missiles in Western Europe a strategic preponderence for NATO. From this meeting we appeal to the world's peoples: Force the imperialist warmongers to the negotiating table; force them to open negotiations with the Soviet Union on the generous peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress."

Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and FDGB chairman, said in Rostock: "Socialist democracy in our worker-peasant state means the active participation of every citizen in developing and running public affairs: That is our daily life, today, tomorrow and in future." All that was being done and achieved for the people and with the people was the touchstone of democratic popular participation. He stressed that socialist democracy included the defense of its gains, the protection of worker-peasant power. It was worth making every effort for a happy life, social security and a sense of belonging, for a life in peace. "To that we say wholeheartedly: yes."

Guenter Kleiber, candidate member of the SED Politburo, told a Dresden election meeting that the struggle for high growth in economic performance was the focal point of all endeavours. "Thereby we decide the pace at which we move forward in fashioning the advanced socialist society. Our economic strategy is a comprehensive and coherent document of Marxist-Leninist economic policy with which we are well-equipped for the 80's." By even more efficient utilization of resources, the tapping of all factors of regional rationalization and citizen initiatives, their socialist home is gradually becoming a finer and more habitable environment. That was assured by the policy of the SED in firm alliance with all parties and mass organisations united in the national front and by the responsible work of all elected representatives.

HONECKER GREETS PEN SOVAN ON ELECTION

BK090727 Phnom Penh SPK in French 0430 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] Phnom Penh, 9 Jun (SPK)--Mr Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], has sent warm greetings to Pen Sovan on the occasion of his election to the post of general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP].

The message says in part:

I am firmly convinced that under the KPRP's leadership, the Kampuchean people will devote all their strength to implementing the historic decisions of the fourth congress of their party and will successfully build an independent and prosperous Kampuchea advancing toward socialism.

May the friendship, military solidarity and multifaceted cooperation between the SED and the KPRP and between the peoples of the GDR and KPRK be further strengthened and developed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

BORDER GUARDS DETAIN THREE FRG 'PROVOCATEURS'

AU111606 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jun 81 p 2

[ADN Report "Provocateurs Detained on State Border"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On 7 Jun 1981, three men from the FRG deliberately violated the state border in Kloetze Kreis, Magdeburg Bezirk; penetrated GDR territory, with provocative intent, and carried out acts against the border security forces.

It is only thanks to the soberminded attitude of the GDR forces, employed for securing the state borders, that this provocation did not result in any serious consequences. The border violators were detained. They did not carry identification documents. According to their own statement they are FRG citizens Friedhelm Luebke, Hermann Franke and Torsten Kamann. The identity of the persons as well as the details of the border violation are being examined by the competent GDR organs.

BRIEFS

SHIPPING LINE WITH CUBA--Oceangoing cargo ships from the GDR and Cuba will ply the some 12,000 km-long shipping route between the two countries beginning with the second half of this year within the framework of a new partnership line. On this basis, the Rostock Deutfracht (DSR) Shipping Company and the Empresa Navigation Mambisa (ENM) want to deepen their bilateral cooperation and foreign trade partnership. Each shipping company offers one departure monthly by modern piece cargo carriers and, in addition, also special transport services by refrigerator ships, fruit and bulk cargo ships. In case of need the ENM will additionally put into operation a container ship every 24 days. [East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 8 Jun 81 p 6 AU]

ASSISTANCE FOR AFGHANISTAN--A GDR "solidarity shipment" on board an Interflug plane arrived on 10 June in Kabul. The shipment consisted of medicine, bandaging material, clothing, school books, sewing machines and motorcycles. The shipment was financed with FDGB funds. Upon arrival of the shipment, a representative of the Afghanistan Committee for Peace and Solidarity thanked the GDR working people for the support. [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1003 GMT 10 Jun 81 DW]

NEPSZABADSAG EDITORIAL SEES POLAND AT CRISIS POINT

LD140916 Budapest MTI in English 0600 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Text] Budapest, 14 Jun (MTI)--"The Hungarian public, too, is following with mounting concern the events of recent weeks in Poland," writes an editorial in Sunday's NPESZABADSAG, entitled: "On the Situation in Poland."

"That its concern is justified is evidenced by statements from most relevant Polish sources," the daily writes. "Naturally, the resolution issued by the Eleventh Plenum of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) approves the resolve of the Central Committee to bring on 'socialist renewal' as proclaimed (?at) the sixth plenum." It adds however that "the renewal is jeopardized by a mounting political, social and economic crisis. The state of the national economy is deteriorating, the political situation is becoming increasingly involved, a danger of counterrevolutionary character jeopardizing the existence of the socialist system in Poland is increasing."

"The concern was voiced in the letter of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party to the Central Committee of the PUWP," NEPSZABADSAG continues. It points out that "today the situation in Poland is not simply dangerous: The country has arrived at a critical point, and there is no room for any other appraisal." "The leading body of the Polish party made it clear that it has an identical assessment of the situation, and it receives the letter of the CPSU as an instance of comradely assistance."

The editorial in NEPSZABADSAG stresses: "The reports flowing in day by day show that the crisis, which started last summer, has kept widening. In view of the closeness of the extraordinary party congress, scheduled for July, the anti-socialist elements are concentrating their attacks on the implementation of the leading role of the party, and on the Marxist-Leninist forces of the PUWP, while they continue to be busy undermining fundamental institutions of the state, damaging achievements of socialism and destroying law.

The editorial continues: "We are aware that, behind the current crisis, there is a series of serious errors committed by the former party and state leadership. It is the historic mission of the forces faithful to socialism to solve these problems in Poland. We are also aware that the confidential crisis [as received], caused by economic and societal policy mistakes, is being used for achieving quite different purposes by those anti-socialist forces that have grabbed the initiative. The purpose of those forces is not to bring renewal to socialism and to surmount the distortions and their consequences. With an uninhibited and reckless irresponsibility and ignoring all words of warning they are pushing the country toward an abyss, endangering not only Poland, but also the peace of the European Continent, the world, and international security. Their sole and only aim is to seize power, by destroying the socialist Polish state, upsetting law and order and disintegrating the PUWP."

"That very goal is served by the demand for a re-trial of the long-cleared incident in the town of Bydgoszcz, the threats with another strike, the defacing of memorials of Soviet heroes, and diverse provocations against the relations of Poland to Soviet Union, its ally, which had liberated it. The media provide free forums for views slandering the regime, leaflets are distributed which overtly and shamelessly incite against state [words indistinct] policies of the party. They spread blatant slanders, e.g. that the agencies of public administration in charge of public food supplies are responsible for the actually deteriorating shortage of food. In the atmosphere of recklessly incited hysteria, under anarchic conditions, the state of the economy has evidently further worsened. The already grave problems in production and supplies are becoming even more serious. The hostile organizations attempt to put the blame on the state, the political leadership for these consequences of their political wrongdoing. Undoubtedly, if the events continue to follow this course, if this process cannot be halted, even more catastrophic consequences may be expected."

"This especially difficult situation," NEPSZABADSAG points out, "peremptorily demands resolute and united action on the part of the Polish communists, the rallying of all forces faithful to socialism in order to defend the socialist achievements and surmount the crisis. A considerable part of the communists' attention and energy has been regrettably still engrossed by debates about errors of the former leadership and the responsibility of certain individuals. These are themes which ultimately do deserve attention, but whose present endless discussion is paralysing the struggle against the hostile forces. It is declared also in the resolution of the now-concluded plenum that now the foremost thing to be confronted is the danger of a 'creeping,' yet increasingly open, counterrevolution. The counterrevolutionary strivings are supported by the most reactionary imperialist circles which, in order to keep the public in suspense, keep talking of the danger of an armed intervention against the country, and which encourage those subversive elements by promising sanctions of global magnitude."

The editorial continues: "The Polish communists are confronted with momentous tasks, whose realization requires great political courage and extraordinary activity. We know and understand that the errors committed in the name of socialism, under the auspices of our ideals, lay heavy on the communists' conscience. Still, their very conscience, the intention to set those mistakes right compel them not to yield to the class enemy, which is cynically and brutally capitalizing on their temporary setback. They surrender the historical achievements of socialism, to let power--which was won by the working class, the people, at the cost of untold sweat and blood--slip into the hands of adventurers--this is not the road toward correcting the errors and the renewal of socialism."

NEPSZABADSAG stresses that "this was underlined in the letter of the CC of the CPSU, and this is expressed in the concerns voiced by other parties of the socialist community, this was declared in the eleventh plenum by those pronouncing that there was no room for any more concession. Experiences of nearly a year have proved that they face an enemy which pays lip service to agreement only to deceive the masses under its sway. As a matter of fact, it responds to every concession with another new demand, new confusion-sowing moves, threats and blackmail. It can be taken for certain that it will attempt to bid defiance also to the more resolute action of the socialist and patriotic forces. But, provided there exist a political platform, a programme of action and a united and organized force which defend the cause of genuine renewal resolutely and consistently, expose the goals and intentions of the anti-socialist centres: In that case it is a realistic alternative that advocates of socialism will unite, give orientation to those who have lost it, and that they will gradually isolate the destructive forces and effect those changes which will facilitate the solution of the crisis, and the political and economic consolidation. In these endeavours, side by side with the Polish communists and the Polish patriots stand the countries of the socialist community, first of all, the Soviet Union which, for decades and in this difficult period even more so, has selflessly helped Poland, and is making maximum efforts--ignoring the provocative behaviour of aggressive imperialist circles--in order to defend detente and preserve that atmosphere which is importantly a precondition of also the normalization of conditions in Poland. The Soviet Union, NEPSZABADSAG writes, side by side with the other socialist countries strived and is striving now to have such conditions under which the Polish people, the Polish working class and its party, the Polish patriots can surmount the crisis and overcome the danger of counterrevolution."

In conclusion, the editorial says: "As far as the Hungarian workers are concerned, concern is not the only reaction of our public, it is also marked by a readiness to help and by sympathy. It expresses both the friendship between the two peoples, which was furthered strengthened during the decades since the liberation, and our shared lot under socialism. We express solidarity with our Polish friends, comrades who are struggling for a socialist unfolding of events. We are supporting their struggle and believe that, by closing their ranks and overcoming their problems, they will defend their socialist society, historical achievements, Polish People's power and, along with that, assure the independent (?existence), socialist present and future of their nation, which has suffered so much," concludes the editorial in NEPSZABADSAG.

SPEAKERS, PROCEEDINGS ON SEJM SESSION, 12 JUNE

Jaruzelski Address

LD121614 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1205 GMT 12 Jun 81

[Speech by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski at 12 June Sejm session--live]

[Text] Citizen speaker, esteemed Sejm, I stand on this platform for the third time in the last 4 months. I stand carrying the burden of enormous concern. The all-embracing, profound, long drawnout crisis is destroying and causing the ruin of our country. In a completely unprecedented way, all the difficulties have added up; their scale and acuteness have increased the threat to the socialist state; the threat to the fate of the nation. Our country, which in its history has experienced so much, again stands on the brink of a great catastrophe. The 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum expressed the whole drama of our situation. I do not want to repeat the assessments and proposals already known to you, citizen deputies: I will refer primarily to economic affairs. The government is asking itself the question: Did it do everything within its tasks and possibilities to counteract the unfavorable process, to reverse it? There weighs on us here the agonizing awareness that people painfully feel everyday difficulties; that they are bearing them with a patience worthy of respect. At the same time, society demands from the government rapid and perceptible solutions. Society is waiting for the moment when it will be possible to state that we are bouncing back from the depths, that we are getting a little bit closer to the light at the end of the tunnel. The government is aware of moods and understands why they are of a critical nature [rozumie ich krytycyzm]. However, we do not have unkept promises on our conscience. On 10 April, I spoke in the Sejm and gave an assessment of the economic situation: Things are bad and they will get even worse. This stemmed from the unswerving logic of the facts and from the interdependencies and trends which are impossible to eliminate in just a few months. The government, however, does not seek justification in this. The effectiveness of the activities of the Council of Ministers, of ministries and of the whole state and economic administration should be greater.

The process of adaptation to exceptional and particularly difficult conditions governing the functioning [of the administration] is not taking place in a uniform manner and needs to be accelerated and streamlined. However, I must also mention the objective conditions in which we are carrying out our activities. The government and the leadership cadre are working in exceptionally difficult conditions, under the pressure of current problems. They are enmeshed in the solution of many issues, which are often of very minor importance. The plethora of demands, proposals and the necessity of constant intervention make it more difficult to concentrate as much as one would like to on the most important issues, on strategic matters.

It is exceptionally difficult to draw up plans and to set tasks in conditions in which one still does not know what one will have available, even over a short period. Thus, for instance, one does not know what the final level of production of raw and other materials, particularly hard coal will be.

One does not know what the final outcome will be of the talks with private banks concerning the postponement of repayment of part of our debts which fall due this year. And finally, side by side with our having to solve various difficult current problems, we are carrying out work in a consistent manner to prepare a program and important undertakings of a long-term nature. This requires thorough analysis, research and broad discussion since these constitute an indispensible premise for the correct solution of difficult socioeconomic problems.

May it please the Sejm, today, we must clearly say what the economic situation is like, what the government intends to do in order to improve it and what it expects from the community.

The report on the state of the economy, which was submitted to the citizen deputies, portrays the seriousness and complexity of the economic situation of the country in its entirety. Recently, it has deteriorated further. Husbandry results in the first 5 months of the current year are much worse than the modest expectations envisaged in this year's plan. Industry is feeling with increasing acuteness the greatly reduced national fuel output and the output of raw and other materials, and in particular the nearly 20-percent drop in hard coal extraction.

Many enterprises have nothing from which to produce. The value of our export has declined appreciably. In consequence, this has drastically reduced the possibilities of importing from the capitalist countries. During the first 5 months of this year, industrial production was nearly 12 percent lower, and in many nearly 18 percent lower, than a year ago. There was an appreciable decline in productivity and labor discipline. Thus, for example, in the first quarter of the current year, the number of hours of unwarranted absenteeism increased by nearly 90 percent compared with last year. The situation in stock breeding is unfavorable. It is estimated that this year's meat procurement will be lower than last year by as much as 500,000 tons.

This creates the danger that it may not be possible to meet the rationing allocations. The fall in production has brought about a decline of over 6 percent in the supply of goods to the market. This included a large number of articles of fundamental importance. At the same time, the cash revenue of the population has increased by over 20 percent.

In short, we are working few hours; we produce less and we earn more. Such is the paradox of the current situation. It is estimated that the shortfall in goods and services, in relation to the purchase fund of the population, will reach this year alone about Z500 billion. Thus, everyday we pay out nearly Z1,500 without cover. This mountain of money immediately sucks in nearly every article appearing on the market.

The reserves dwindle rapidly. Queues are getting longer. The market chaos is getting worse. Speculation is on the increase.

The question is often asked: Why have difficulties connected with the purchase of goods which so far have normally not been in short supply, increased to such an extent recently? What happened to the detergents? What about cigarettes, etc? Why have difficulties in supplies of raw and other materials, coproduction elements and spare parts needed by industry to keep up production, increased so much? The basic cause is the considerable drop in exports and the delayed negotiations with our creditors on postponing the date of our repayment obligations for this year. As a result, the means for imports have declined drastically. In this situation we must constantly choose the lesser evil.

Every day a special government commission makes decisions concerning the allocation of means for imports. There is an increasing number of such days when there is nothing to allocate.

Priority is given to hard currency for the purchase of the most needed articles, such as medicines or raw materials for their production, food, components for the production of articles of personal hygiene, plant protection preparations and spare parts. In this situation, there is, for instance, already a shortage of several million dollars for the import of cigarette paper and filters, which would solve the cigarette problem for this year.

In the existing situation it is impossible to promise a speedy improvement in market supplies. As regards certain commodities, where production depends on import, there could even be a deterioration. The government does, and will continue to do, everything possible to step up the production and deliveries of basic market goods. There will be no shortage of cereal products on the market. There should be enough butter and milk. We are searching for possibilities of additional imports of sugar, which is indispensible to meet the ration allocations. The import of cigarettes from the socialist countries will be augmented.

The results achieved during the past 5 months, as well as the economic prognoses indicate that the targets of this year's plan will not be reached. Proposals for amendments to the plan will be submitted to the esteemed house by the government by 25 June of this year.

Citizens, deputies! Today there is the universal question: How to save the economy from total collapse? As the country's economic situation deteriorates, the answer becomes increasingly difficult. We must, however, find the answer to this question, despite all obstacles, because the worst thing would be to become submerged in inertia.

We are searching for active solutions. This will be reflected in the program of stabilization activities which is being worked on just now. I have entrusted this task to a new team, and I will submit the program to the esteemed house at its next meeting. Today, I should like to draw the citizen-deputies' attention to problems which I consider as the most important at the moment and which call for ugent solutions.

We must halt the decline in industrial production. The production potential of the country has in no way been diminished. On the contrary, despite investment restrictions, we have acquired new factories, machines and plants. Nor has Poland lost any hands fit to work--qualified and very gifted personnel. It is thanks to them that the active production process has continued in many factories. Thanks to them, difficulties are being overcome and planned targets reached.

But nationally, the production possibilities of the country are being exploited much less satisfactorily. Working hours have been shortened. The loss of production caused by this has not been compensated by higher productivity. The shorter hours did not prove to be the boon expected. It has been canceled out by queues and the chase after goods. Relevant consequences should be drawn from this situation. Nobody intends to encourage workforces to a 6-day working week. But we must find such solutions by which, wherever possible and necessary, a shortened working week for men is in force while production enterprises work for 6 days. Machines and plants do not have to have free Saturdays. This applies particularly to the raw materials and extraction industries on which depends the exploitation of production possiblities in the processing industries. The same applies, providing there are enough raw materials, to factories producing medicines, food, personal hygiene articles and other primary commodities.

The ministries, the amalgamations and the factory managements will be given the task of making the necessary analyses and carrying out consultation, introducing subsequently the required organizational solutions.

This will require, among other things, an increase in employment in these industries in which a shortage of workers will be a barrier for increasing production--this applies in particular to mining, the power industry, the municipal economy, health and other services. This should take place as a result of transfers in employment. The transfer of labor reserves is a great chance for exploiting to the maximum the country's production potential.

We can also see such a chance in expanding cooperation with the CEMA countries. In the talks being conducted on this subject another step forward has been made. The prospect of fruitful cooperation is being outlined, particularly in the electromachine, metallurgical, chemical and light industries. The Soviet Union creates particular opportunities for us in this respect. This is yet another form of this great and irreplaceable assistance which the land of the soviets is giving to us in this period which is so difficult for us. It is only people of ill will, and who are exceptionally blind to the facts, who can today undermine the fundamental importance of cooperation with the Soviet Union for our country.

Citizen deputies! Coal is the most important thing today. We will not budge from the spot without coal and we shall not solve a single problem. It is said that coal is "black gold." Today one must view this a different way: Coal is our oxygen. One can live without gold but one cannot live without oxygen.

This year's socioeconomic plan is based on the assumption that coal extraction will be 188 million tons. At present we estimate that at the present extraction level the mines will barely supply 165-168 million tons.

The truth has to be faced. The amount of coal that is being mined today is not sufficient to cover even the barest necessities of the country itself. The stocks of coal in the national economy have declined to a critical state. The coal deficit is adversely affecting the output of industry and agriculture as well as the supplies to the population. In the forthcoming autumn-winter season residential accommodations may be inadequately heated. The losses suffered from the lack of exports are particularly felt. In exchange for 1 million tons of coal we could import about 40,000 tons of butter, that is, an amount corresponding to 1 and a half months supply of butter to the country's markets.

The deficit of coal and energy sharply raises the problem of their rational utilization. Appeals for economy and rational use of coal and energy must be supported by effective economic solutions. The government realizes all the complex problems of the mining industry, both production problems and social issues. The 5-day work week is a lasting and inviolable gain achieved by miners. They are people who work the hardest; they work well and devotedly and for the most part attain high standards of productivity. Despite the efforts made by the government, miners also experience problems with market supplies which daily life brings.

The government will act consistently to bring about an improvement in social conditions and the daily life of miners and their families. Everything will be done to provide the mining industry with better supplies of materials, machines, equipment, spare parts and protective clothing. Individual ministries have been instructed to carry out orders for supplies to the mining industry as quickly as possible. Foreign currency funds have been allocated for the import of indispensable spare parts. The coal mining industry will be given the right to decide how to use some of the foreign currency revenue obtained through the export of coal. Action has been taken to ensure an increase in employment in the mining industry. The production of coal--just as it did throughout the whole period of our postwar history--even today decides the state of the Polish national economy. This is why it is necessary to give some thought, and to do it urgently, to what can be done--how work in the mining industry should be organized--in order to ensure, as early as possible, an increase in the output. We ask the miners this question: This is an urgent matter, the government and the chairman of the Council of Ministers personally declare their readiness for talks with the trade unions and with self-government bodies of the miners' workforces, so that even before the end of this month a solution of this problem can be found jointly.

May it please the Sejm, as a result of the new energetic agrarian policy a visible livening up--in a social sense and as a regards production--has occurred in rural areas; although still too slowly. Yet clearly discernible has been the process of shifting production, in a number of industrial branches, to the output of commodities required by agriculture. So far weather has favored the farmers. We may expect a reasonably good harvest. The downward trends in livestock production have been halted.

At present the most urgent issue is the gathering and husbandry of all crops, starting with the first haymaking and ending with the late autumn crops. Nothing which grows in the fields should be squandered. We cannot permit that during the next few weeks, due to organizational shortcomings, negligence or carelessness, there should be losses in procurement, processing and distribution of vegetables and fruit. This will be dealt with, with all severity.

The extraordinary situation calls for extraordinary efforts. On behalf of the government, I urge everyone whose work is even indirectly linked to agriculture--first of all I urge farmers, the agricultural self-government and trade unions, the agricultural services--to prepare well for the harvest and to execute it smoothly.

Equally ardently I urge the workforces in industry, the trade unionists, to provide the maximum possible assistance to farming in this harvest campaign--and when required, the hands for work. We need not convince anyone what this year's crops mean to the Polish people. We have an opportunity for a relatively rapid improvement in supplies to the population of the basic food articles, with the exception of meat and its products. We must make every effort not to miss this opportunity.

May it please the house! An indispensible condition for improving the economy, for a full introduction of the economic reform, is the reform of retail prices. It should be executed as soon as possible. Work on this comprehensive project is in progress. Before the end of July details of the reform and the compensations connected with it will be submitted to the trade unions.

But most urgent is resolving the problem of the prices of bread and flour products. Equally urgently, the question of coal prices must be dealt with. It is beyond any argument that increased retail prices should be accompanied by a clear, understandable, and above all socially just, system of compensations. Thus, the population groups with low incomes should receive full compensation for price increases for all food articles as well as for coal, coke, electric and thermal energy and other industrial articles and for services which are indispensible for house maintenance.

Population groups with middle incomes can count on partial compensation, while those with high incomes will be compensated in a very limited way. The burden of price reform will thus be borne by the population groups with middle, and above all, high incomes. Such a system of compensation will, at the same time, contribute to a reduction of the universally criticized excessive disproportion between the lowest and highest incomes.

We are aware that we are undertaking an attempt to see if we are equal to the most thorny socioeconomic problem. We wish to draw all the conclusions from the experience we have had so far. So we are proposing that the assumptions for the price changes are presented earlier and in an open manner. The implementation of the economic reform should eliminate, once and for all, the need for price changes in leaps and bounds in the future by introducing lucid price mechanisms which are accepted by the public.

Another condition for restoring the market equilibirum is the tidying up of incomes and wages policy. From the middle of last year until now Z140 billion have been allocated for wage increases as a result of social agreements. These include, among others, rises which were forced on the basis of local agreements. About Z40 billion have been spent for increases in social services. Taking into account the increases in purchase prices, the total incomes of the population will increase by about Z300 billion on a yearly scale. Decisions on wages, prompted by the willingness to fulfill the signed agreements, are being implemented in a situation when production is systematically declining. The government has warned on many occasions that increased wages are not covered by goods and services. It has pointed out the negative social and economic consequences of this.

The spiral of wage demands and the incessant pressure for increases leads to a further weakening of the purchasing power of money and to an uncontrolled increase in the cost of living. It makes the material situation of the poorest social groups worse. We, together with the trade unions, must oppose this.

The government will continue the social policy, the supreme aim of which is to guarantee the necessary consumption for families with low incomes. At present, proposals concerning the social minimum are being discussed with the trade unions. This will be the basis for determining minimum wages, family allowances, the lowest old-age and other pensions, and benefits from the social fund.

In accordance with the social agreements, new principles governing wages policy are being drafted. These will be submitted to the trade unions for consultation, and after agreement has been reached, they will become foundations for planning a national wages policy.

The realization of a social policy and the planning of a national pay policy is not possible in conditions of large-scale pressure for increases. I appeal to all groups of employees to abstain from making pay demands--at least until the end of this year. This elementary truth must get through to everyone: One cannot freely increase the allocation of resources, increase wages, increase social benefits. In a situation in which the shelves in shops are empty, and in which warehouses are empty, what other arguments must be used to explode this idea and to finally understand that the government cannot give anything from itself, and that it can only wish, it can only--and should--share fairly what has genuinely been produced in the economy.

Citizen Deputies! The overcoming of the crisis and leading the country out onto a road of lasting socioeconomic progress requires deep changes to be carried out in the system which governs the functioning of the economy. The public is attentively following the work being done on economic reform. Every now and then concern is expressed over the too slow rate at which this work is proceeding. Yes, that is correct. Our economy is sick. It must be mended quickly and radically. But this has to be a well-thought out mending which takes into account all the aspects, conditions and the complex nature of the economic situation. It is precisely this method which we are applying. We are carefully analyzing previous practices. We are taking advantage of the experiences of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist states.

A great social discussion has been carried out on the general directions of economic reform which have been drawn up by the commission dealing with matters pertaining to the reforms. From this lofty rostrum I wish to convey words of gratitude to the members of the commission. They are unselfishly and with great commitment helping the government with their knowledge and experience. I express gratitude to those who have been taking part in the discussion, factory workforces, party organizations, trade unions and also private persons--to all those who have sent in their remarks and proposals.

The projected reform is based on two pillars--on the self-government of enterprises and on strategic central planning. It meets halfway the demands which have been made for years and years on the Sejm forum. It ensures that the representative bodies have a decisive role in mapping out the strategic lines of development and the principles governing the functioning of the economy. The formation of a cohesive and integrated concept is an exceptionally important but not the sole direction of work. Also nearing completion is the setting out in concrete form solutions for individual problems pertaining to the reforms. This applies, among things, to such matters as, for instance, the development and forms of social ownership, planning, the economic system of enterprises, the principles governing the way prices are formed and the organization of the investments process. This provides the foundations for drawing up drafts which are to be implemented and which apply to particular sections and links of the national economy.

This task should be completed in the second half of the year. In the past period the commission and the government devoted particular attention to the work with long-term objectives, trying to create conditions of an institutional and organizational character in anticipation of future reforms. The government has adopted the decision to introduce, beginning 1 July 1981, various economic reforms in the area of small-scale manufacturing. This should enliven this (?important) section of the national economy. Beginning 1 July, in accordance with the new economic principles also, the state farms will begin to organize their activities. The introduction of cost accounting in the state farm system should contribute to a more effective utilization of land and other resources in this section of our agriculture.

Preparations have been undertaken to introduce, beginning 1 January 1982, a reform of market prices. Draft bills have been dispatched to the Sejm concerning the self-government of workforces at industrial enterprises and the status of state enterprises.

The definition of the position, tasks and rights of the self-government of industrial workforces as well as its relationship with organs of state administration, together with the shaping of new principles governing the activities of enterprises, sets the general trend of the reform as a whole; it provides the basis for the real participation of workforces in the management of publicly-owned means of production and for the joint responsibility of their utilization.

The government has today placed for consultation in the Sejm commissions, draft bills concerning the new organizational structure and the functions of executive and central organs of state administration in a sphere of national economy. The proposed sets of draft bills are of tremendous importance; they create a new dimension in institutional and organizational terms and constitute an expression of the desire to effect profound changes in the functioning of our national economy. We are now on the threshold of the most difficult phase: the introduction of various reforms both in the basic elements and at higher levels of the organizational structure of the economy. What is intended is that in the last half of this year there should be an in-depth study of the condition of each enterprise, a review of its functioning and that the possibilities and desirable directions of organizational, technical and economic improvements required be indicated.

In all sectors we must prepare well for action based on new principles, to assess what social and economic results will be caused by it. Reform will bring benefits to well organized, dynamic and effective units, but it will also reveal bad management, low efficiency, and everything that reduces economic progress. At the present stage, the task should be to put the activity of socioprofessional associations which assemble engineers and technicians, economists and bookkeepers, and organizers of production in the forefront. The government will welcome with appreciation every initiative in this field.

May it please the house! In accordance with the logic of the functioning of socialist economy, the changes of position and principles of operation in enterprise should be matched with transformations in the organization and management system at higher levels. At present, we must undertake the task and perform in such a way that economic processes are not disturbed and the continuity of management is not undermined. Considering the above, the government thinks the process of organizational changes should be divided into two basic stages: First, reorganization has to be carried out and functional changes have to be made at the central level; and next, in indirect links of management. In this way it will be possible to take into consideration general economic premises and initiatives from below in the formation of voluntary associations and also obligatory groupings.

The establishment of new ministries and the abolition of others, as well as the alteration of their functions, aims to ensure the supremacy of general social interest; it initiates new relations between the central level of management and enterprises.

According to the basic premises of the reform, the main tasks for the supreme organs of administration are implementation of the government's economic policy and its representation to all units conducting economic activity. Ultimately, it will eliminate the operative management of state enterprises. They should concentrate on the creation of economic, organizational and legal conditions which will induce independent enterprises to act in accordance with social needs and the demands of economic effectiveness.

The government has considered different organizational variants. Numerous consultations have been carried out among various social and professional groups, and the views of many experts have been sought; reform plans prepared by diverse teams have been taken into account. It was discovered that many opinions cut across each other or excluded each other.

Finally, the following principle was adopted: The shape of organizational structures must be based on the analysis of functions which various sections and fields of the national economy perform in the process of social reproduction. The following complexes have been identified:

Complex one covers agriculture, procurement of agricultural produce, food production and forestry. The expediency of the combination--agricultural production with procurement of agricultural produce and food processing--is beyond doubt. An essentially new element here is the combination--as is done in other countries--of forestry with agriculture. We are taking the stand that within this system it will be possible to implement better the tasks connected with the rational utilization of the soils and the whole area of land, and that it will be easier to take fully into account the effects agriculture has on the condition of woods and forests and vice versa.

Complex two covers the extraction of hard coal, lignite and the production of energy. Mining and the power industry can function and develop in the best way only on the basis of joint programming and in a close association. The division of the mining industry from the power industry which took place in the 1970's broke technical-organizational principles, and the national economy suffered as a result. What we are aiming at now is more than merely the removal of mistakes, because the new organizational system faces the implementation of tasks of a new character--tasks which derive from the very nature of the economic reform.

Complex three concerns the sum total of issues connected with the creation of technical foundations of the national economy; it covers foundry production, as well as machine building--both of which have strong links of cooperation. The setting aside of foundry production and the division of the machine building industry between two ministerial departments, which took place in the past, have brought about the autonomization of foundry production and set up departmental barriers which hampered or prevented a comprehensive solution of technical and production problems. This was one of the reasons for the disproportions in the national economy and the excessive absorption of materials by industrial production.

Complex four covers the chemical processing of timber and natural and artificial fibers--wool, cotton and clothing industry--the processing of natural and artificial leather, processing of man-made fabrics and rubber, the production of ceramics and glass, the production of cellulose and paper. Thus it is a complex of processing industries directed, to a great extent, toward the manufacture of consumer goods. On the basis of expert opinion, it is proposed that the whole of the chemical industry, as technologically indivisible, should be left within the framework of this complex.

The fifth complex comprises the construction industry and the construction materials industry. With reference to that complex, no important organizational changes are proposed at present.

These complexes are an important function for our national economic life. We are aware that this division is not ideal either. The economy is too complicated a system to organize it according to pure criteria. For that reason, for instance, we think it useful to leave copper mining in a group together with the metallurgical industry and its processing. For that reason, certain special branches of the engineering industry remain together with the repair base, within the framework of those ministries which they serve.

The most important thing is that the new scope of activity should facilitate and not hamper the shaping of the new functions of the ministry; it should make it possible to represent the general social, and not the narrow ministerial, interest.

With this in mind, the government's proposals have been drafted. We are sending them for consultation in Sejm commissions. We are relying on their approval during deputies' discussions. At the same time, I would like to state that we do not regard the proposals as inviolable or definitive. The government will accept and take into consideration every proposal or demand which contributes to a better solution of this complex issue.

Adapting the organizational structure to separated complexes, it is proposed to set up the following ministries: Ministry of Agriculture, Food Industry and Forestry; Ministry of Mining and Power Industry; Ministry of Metallurgical Industry and Engineering Industry; and Ministry of Chemical Industry and Light Industry. At the same time the government proposes to abolish the offices of: minister of mining, power industry and atomic energy; of metallurgy industry; of machine engineering industry; of heavy and agricultural machines industry; of chemical industry; of light industry; of food industry and purchase; of forestry and timber industry; and of agriculture. Moreover, the government thinks it useful to separate from the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Maritime Economy the problems of the maritime economy. The joining together of these two sectors was artificial. Bearing in mind the indivisibility of the maritime economy, and being guided by the aim of creating conditions for the harmonious development of all its elements--shipping, ports and sea fishing--the government proposes to set up a central maritime economy office. The reorganization and reconstruction of the function of departmental-branch ministries involves the need to make fundamental changes in the powers and style of work of the Planning Commission and functional ministries, particularly the Ministries of Finances, Foreign Trade and Labor, Wages and Social Affairs.

Work on this has already started, and the relevant changes will be consistently introduced. A draft bill amending the law on the husbandry of fuel and energy will also be submitted. It envisages that the minister of the husbandry of materials will include in his range of activity the husbandry of fuels and energy. This is justified by the close interdependence between the consumption of materials by production and their consumption by energy. In the new formation it will be easier to maintain a comprehensive approach to the task of rationalizing the energy and materials' economy.

We also consider that it is inevitable to carry out important changes in the organization and control system of technical progress. We will search for the most suitable solution to this problem, together with representatives from the world of science, with experienced organizers of technical progress, rationalization and inventiveness. The government will submit the relevant proposals to the Sejm in the second half of this year.

We must also introduce new organizational structures so as to implement, in the best possible way, the tasks connected with the spatial development of the country, with the protection of the environment and water conservation. We appreciate the great and constantly growing importance of these issues. In this, we fully agree with the opinions and demands of many scientific milieus and social organizations. Also in this sphere, the relevant proposals will be submitted to the esteemed house in the next half year.

Citizens, deputies! The reorganization of ministries and the change of their functions is connected with the restriction of employment in the supreme and central organs of the state administration. The duty of the leadership of the new ministries will be to resolve this problem in a manner which takes into consideration the personnel and vocational situation of every employee.

The government has prepared the principles governing action, the application of which will make it possible to link up individual interests with general social interests. The thing is that in the next 6 months we, together with the trade unions, need to examine all the possibilities of making effective use of the skills and experiences of cadres, and that everyone be given the opportunity to do work which is socially useful.

Great possibilities in this respect will be created by reinforcing the banking system and functional [funkcjonalny] ministries with cadres having the highest qualifications. Many people will find a place for themselves in the sphere of production and the services--in key industries, agriculture and smallscale production as well as in the crafts. The demand of enterprises for technical-organizational advisory bodies and expert legal and financial assistance will increase. The export opportunities for technical know-how [mysl techniczna] are great. They must all be exploited to benefit the people and the country.

An exceptionally important task is to carry out changes in such a way that the continuity in managing the economy is ensured and that the creation of new central organs does not have a negative effect on the functioning of economic units.

The government considers that if the new ministries are responsible for greater complexes then this will create conditions better than before for concentrating means on the most important matters, for harmonizing production processes, for implementing priority tasks and for breaking down ministerial barriers regarding the direction of activities of a factories and enterprises in accordance with the hierarchy and urgency of social needs.

In presenting the program for introducing the reform I wish to stress that it would be a big mistake to think that once it is introduced the restoration of economic equilibrium will automatically take place, that the deficit of raw and other materials and foreign currency will disappear. We shall have to work at least several years for this to happen. One must also bear in mind that the previous system, based on the method of enforced distribution management [nakazowo-rozdzielczyie zarzadzanie], is no longer effective and that the economy to a certain extent has become impossible to guide. This makes the implementation of necessary stabilization undertakings impossible or more difficult. The effectiveness of the reformed system will mature gradually in proportion to how economic equilibrium is restored.

Thus, it is necessary to draw up a group of solutions for the interim period which take into account the existing restrictions and obstacles and which make it easier to attain the final solutions. During this period it will without a doubt be necessary to apply the rationing of raw and other materials and to apply other production factors. We must find a way of matching the provisions of the reform, particularly the principle of the independence of enterprises, with the need for applying the distribution of means. We shall carry this out so that, on the one hand, the optimum social exploitation of production factors in short supply is ensured and, on the other hand, motivation is created for using them more effectively and conditions are consistently created for the functioning of the economic reform mechanism.

May it please the Sejm: For these exceptionally difficult and ambitious but, after all, realistic economic tasks to be implemented, necessary conditions need to be fulfilled. One of these conditions is, above all, calm--the possibility of cadres to function normally--and finally, and this is particularly important, social understanding and the active and responsible attitude toward economic processes by all social and trade union forces. Without this sort of approach, every kind of appeal and effort by the authorities will go for nothing. The country will be utterly submerged in economic chaos. This will be the economic ruin of Poland. The current situation does not promote such an approach. We are experiencing dramatic difficulties which are multifaceted and comprehensive--in addition to economic, there are above all political and social problems. They are therefore all the more complicated. Their interdependability, however, gives the chance that a successful solution in one sector will bring progress or relief in another. Hence every effort, every initiative in this direction may have an important significance. Undoubtedly the greatest possibilities are inherent in the political and social, and therefore subjective, sphere; dependent on people, both the authorities and social organizations, on the whole of society.

Here we continue to look persistently for understanding and agreement; for conditions leading to a drop in tension; for a better atmosphere which, in turn, will promote an improvement in the economic situation.

In the recent period, large, dangerous conflicts have not boiled over. Recognition must be expressed today for all people, milieus and organizations which have worked persistently to prevent an extreme course of events. I would like here too, with profound respect, to recall the outstanding role played for the good of this cause by the deceased primate of Poland, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski. However, taken overall, the sociopolitical situation is very threatening and dangerously unsettled. The April resolution of the esteemed Sejm met with a lack of proper respect. Too many drastic facts show the disrespect for and sometimes outright disregard for this Sejm's reprimand and injunction. This prompts the reflection and question: What constitutional arsenal of the law will the Sejm desire to have at its disposal, and when, in order to guarantee the ability to execute its own decisions? The government will act in the spirit of the resolution of the 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. The rising danger should urgently be overcome and removed. The positive examples for the relations between the government and Solidarity have become a pledge in this respect. The working contacts between government and trade union representatives have been a useful medium for such relations. A number of joint teams are working in clearing up many fundamental and also incidental issues. Despite great difficulties in operating this form of activity, we intend to develop it, both at the government level as well as in voivodships. We hope that this will serve the observance of the trade union statute of the NSZZ Solidarity, the abandoning of impractical demands in the form of ultimatums, active involvement in social, living tasks in factories and the coparticipation of trade union cells in resolving socioeconomic problems.

In toto, this should serve the prosperity of the nation and the cause of a socialist Poland. The government is counting on the fact that normalization and beneficial cooperation with the constructive undercurrent of Solidarity will also help it to move further away from, cleanse itself of and restrain hostile and anarcho-adventure-seeking elements of various hues and colors which have up to now been placed in (?leading) positions in many links of the trade union, will help it to shake off the influence of ring-leaders whose sustenance is demagogy, attacks on the authorities and dangerous strike advantures, and will help it to understand that they are pushing the union in an antisocialist direction and are leading things toward disaster, toward the tragedy of Poland.

The authorities have given and still give continual evidence of their moderation and good will. They have carried out and are still carrying out the cleansing of their own ranks. There will be no room among us for inveterate bureaucrats, idlers and fops, for people who violate socialist norms. But we shall all the more have the right to fulfill our professional duties in a consistent manner.

The government is resolved to stop vigorously actions which have proliferated on a broad scale and which subdue the functioning of the organs of the authorities and which throw material production into confusion. Thus, cases of humiliating representatives of the authorities, of encroaching on their powers, of usurping various concocted prerogatives, of urging people not to subordinate themselves to the instructions of the competent organs and of breaking regulations will no longer be tolerated.

All declarations about respecting the law are false inasmuch as, in practice, they are accompanied by actions which are against law and order and by attempts to force the authorities into making concessions which are against the law. The leadership cadre is operating under difficult conditions. The socioeconomic situation requires strenuous work. A minister or voivoda, a director or any other representative of the authorities is unable to work with the necessary efficiency if he constantly comes up against an escalation of demands and arrogant pressure. And these are noc isolated instances.

The effective defense of those who are attacked unjustifiably is necessary. The government is counting on greater assistance and understanding on this issue from the mass media. By the way, there is something of a paradox in the feverish atmosphere, and chiefly in one-sided criticism. You see, it always appeared that if a ship hits a rock then rescuing it was a matter of life and death for the crew. It turns out, however, that this is not always the case. On our Polish ship, even if it is sinking, the most important pastime might turn out to the harassment of the leadership, even though this can complicate reaching the port.

The government, by stepping up severity of its action in the face of all hostile activity, will treat with the utmost seriousness antiallied and anti-Soviet attacks [atak]. Internationalism is a priceless value for us. It is true that one cannot force anyone to have feelings alien to him but one can, and one must, demand common sense and responsibility. The good name of the country cannot be imperiled and there can be no tolerance of madmen who might set fire to our joint national home.

The government has issued instructions to the appropriate organs to step up their activities against excesses of this type which bear the hallmarks of crimes--activities aimed at preventing these excesses, at establishing who the perpetrators are and at making them accountable for them. At the same time, the government appeals to the public to lend its full support for these efforts. Every anti-Soviet lunge [wypad] on the territory of Poland against the ally, liberator, and codefender is an insult to a guest in the home of his host. It is all the more embarrassing when one sets this off against the great Soviet assistance which is being given over and above the program.

Also the community, to the millions of politically enlightened and morally sensitive working people, the government appeals for an active mass participation to block the printing and distribution of various antistate publications. Their contents are at times impermissible. Sometimes they simply smack of crime. They constitute a specific kind of identity card, evidence of counterrevolution.

The one who writes and produces this bears a heavy guilt. The community cannot be threatened by arsonists. They must be castigated and isolated. These leaflets are often made on small duplicating machines which are available at work establishments or social organizations. Therefore the government instructs their managers and directors to secure them properly and strictly control their use. The organs of control and investigation are being instructed to see that regulations in this field are strictly observed.

There are forces in Poland which think about taking over power. Therefore all that weakens the socialist state plays into their hands. One of the manifestations of this is the occurence of hooliganism and vandalism. The degenerates, the scoundrels and the drunkards cannot rule the streets with impunity.

We must have respect for power. The government is instructing the prosecution organs to start vigorous, systematic activities designed to restore and maintain public order and the security of citizens at socially-approved standards.

The government values highly the responsible toil of the members of the Citizens' Militia and the security services. At the same time it expresses its conviction that the community will in its own, continuing interest, extend active support to the militia, and to the security services. Launching this appeal, the government warns that persons hampering the militia in its actions will suffer severe consequences.

The solicitude of the PZPR, of political parties, of the National Unity Front, and the solicitude of the government for the prestige of the tools of power, for the respect for the dignity of the uniform always encompasses the army. There can be only one result in the struggle to defend socialism in Poland.

The Armed Forces, by their determined bearing and reliability, will contribute effectively to the final, straight road of progress. I am convinced, may it please the Sejm, that in its maturity our nation will live up to this greatest test. [prolonged applause]

May it please the Sejm, in connection with the government plans that have just been presented it is necessary to carry out personnel changes in the composition of the Council of Ministers.

I sumbit a motion to recall:

Citizen Henryk Kisiel, from the post of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers, at his request connected with serious illness. At the same time I wish to express cordial gratitude to Comrade Kisiel, the merited, leading worker of the state, for many years of selfless and fruitful work.

Citizen Jerzy Bafia, from the post of minister of justice, at his request.

Citizen Adam Kowalik, from the post of minister of domestic trade and services, at his request due to family circumstances.

Citizen Zbigniew Rudnicki, from the post of minister of communications, at his request due to his reaching pensionable age.

Citizen Jerzy Gawrysiak, from the post of minister and member of the Council of Ministers, at his request. He will also be recalled, at his request, from the post of chairman of the State Price Commission.

I thank Citizens Jerzy Bafia, Adam Kowalik, Zbigniew Rudnicki and Jerzy Gawrysiak most cordially for their fruitful work in the Council of Ministers.

I propose the appointment of Citizen Zbigniew Madej to the post of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers; of Citizen Sylwester Zawadzki to the post of minister of justice; of Citizen Zygmunt Lakomiec to the post of minister of domestic trade and services; of Citizen Wladyslaw Majewski to the post of chairman of the State Price Commission. I also intend to ask the Council of Ministers to grant Citizen Zdzislaw Krasinski the necessary plenipotentiary powers to prepare and introduce the reform of retail prices and to coordinate the activity of the state administration in this sector.

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1500 GMT on 12 June and Warsaw PAP in English at 1430 GMT on 12 June carry abridged reports on Premier Jaruzelski's speech to the 12 June Sejm session. Both of these versions report Jaruzelski as proposing Wladyslaw Majewski to the post of minister of communications and Zdzislaw Krasinski to the post of chairman of the State Price Commission].

In the next few days, the government will present before the speaker a bill to create the post of secretary of state with the rank of minister, whose task it will be to inspire, program and coordinate the work of state administrative bodies concerned with the preparation of the draft and introduction of a comprehensive economic reform.

I would like to present the biographies of those candidates proposed to occupy the posts I have mentioned:

Citizen Zbigniew Madej was born in 1932 into a peasant family. He is qualified as an assistant professor in economic sciences. In 1955-58 he worked in the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers as an adviser; later, up to 1964, he worked in the Economic Department of the PZPR Central Committee; and recently as a senior instructor. From 1974-1971, he was director of the Economic Department in the Committee for Science and Technology. In 1972-75, he again worked in the PZPR Central Committee, initially in the post of deputy director and then as director of the Economic Department.

In 1975, he was appointed to the post of under secretary of state in the Ministry of Finances; and in 1980, to the post of deputy chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers.

Citizen Sylwester Zawadzki was born in 1921 into a family of the working intelligentsia. He is a professor of legal sciences. He began teaching and academic work in the Institute of Social Sciences of the PZPR Central Committee, which was later changed into the Higher School of Social Sciences, fulfilling since 1954 the duties of head of the Department of Theory of the State and the Law. At the same time he did scientific research in the Institute of Legal Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Since 1969 he has been a professor at Warsaw University. In 1980, the Council of State appointed Prof Sylwester Zawadzki to the post of president of the Supreme Administrative Court. He is the author of many scientific and journalistic works on the theory of the state; a Sejm deputy; chairman of the Sejm Commission for Legislative Work; a member of the PZPR.

Citizen Zygmunt Lakomiec was born in 1936 into a peasant family. He has a master's degree in economics. In 1957-74, he worked in the presidium of the Kielce Voivodship People's Council, finally in the post of director of trade and services. In 1974 he transferred to the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services, to the post of director of the Department of Planning and Prognosis; and since March 1981, he has been director general. Throughout the entire 24-year period of his work, he has been concerned with the problems of domestic trade and services. He is a PZPR member.

Citizen Zdzislaw Krasinski was born in 1930 into a family of the intelligentsia. He is a professor of economic sciences. Since 1961, he has been on the academic staff of the Economics Academy in Poznan, fulfilling since 1975 the duties of dean of the faculty of production economics and goods turnover. Prof Zdzislaw Krasinski has considerable academic achievements. He is the author of many publications and scientific papers. He is nonparty.

Citizen Wladyslaw Majewski was born in 1933 into a family of the intelligentsia. He is a professor of technical sciences and a communications engineer. In 1954-70, he worked at Warsaw Technical University, finally as a lecturer. Since 1970, he has been working in the Communications Institute. He currently holds the position of director-in-chief of that institute. He is the author of many scientific publications in the communications field. He is a member of the Democratic Party.

I think the proposed changes tabled before the esteemed chamber are the most urgent ones. Further changes resulting, among other things, from the bills proposed to the esteemed chamber on changes in the supreme state administrative bodies, I will propose at the next session of the Sejm.

Szczepanski Address

LD130954 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1435 GMT 12 Jun 81

[Speech by Deputy Jan Szczepanski at 12th June session of Polish Sejm--live]

[Text] Citizen speaker, esteemed Sejm!

I would like here to refer to the portion of Mr Premier's speech on the conditions of social calm necessary for leading our country out of the economic and political crisis.

Three months and six days have passed since the esteemed chamber appointed an extraordinary commission for the control of social agreements. Admittedly, the scope of our work was limited to the control of those fundamental social agreements. The commission worked out for itself a long, long-term plan of work which soon had to be shelved because it had been incorporated into the course of current work aimed, in fact, at ensuring social peace in our country.

Thus, I would like to make use of this occasion to present a very short report, beginning with a few figures: During this period of over three months, nine plenary sessions of the commission have been held; three sessions of teams and the commission's special teams appointed to conduct talks with various groups and representatives of the trade unions; eleven meetings with delegations and various groups which came to our commission with various matters, have been held. And on three occasions, members of the commission participated in long, sometimes very arduous, negotiations conducted by government commissions. Thus the balance of these three months of work is quite a significant one. I would like to say here that what is important is not these figures. In general the press has given quite faithful accounts of our actions to the public.

I would like to say a few words about the contents and about what resulted, what problems presented themselves in connection with the work of our commission. In all our work we set ourselves several aims. Namely, we tried to intervene and to take on, if I may say so, for consideration and discussion in the commission, those issues where the negotiating sides--the government side and the union side--found themselves deadlocked and this deadlock had to be overcome. And thus we assumed tasks that were very difficult; tasks with which, so far, somehow, we have coped. I must say that the members of the commission are--perhaps proud is not the right word--but they are satisfied that we succeeded to a certain extent and within our modest possibilities, in contributing to giving the government and the party the opportunity of avoiding unnecessary conflict, of not permitting the explosion of open conflict wherever it could be avoided.

Well, this was our interventionist action, conducted in the course of very intensive work over these three months.

Now however, a series of other problems are appearing, probably more important ones, which the commission will have to concentrate on. We still have one obligation assumed not long ago, a few days ago, that is: to find some commonsense resolution of this Bydgoszcz conflict. And all those deputes who listened to the television interview of Mr Rulewski, about whom Professor (Duzyk) spoke here today, realize that talks with an attitude of this kind are not easy, and the search for an understanding of some sort here is not easy. However, I hope that by 3 July that solution will be found and the Bydgoszcz affair will really finally be removed from the order of the day. For it's now high time. Yes, let's finally have done with all the accusations of provocation.

I would like to say that in analyzing all these agreements, one should realize that the agreements which resolved certain pressing conflicts nevertheless contain within themselves the possibility of new conflicts opening up over a very broad area. The situation mentioned, that very situation which Mr Premier presented today from this platform in so clear, logical and at the same time dramatic, manner, places under a question many of these agreements which are, after all, very numerous--already almost every ministry has several, a dozen or so, or sometimes scores of them concluded.

The global agreement which was spoken of from this platform at one of the previous sessions of the Sejm is necessary. It is necessary for the government to begin, together with Solidarity and the other trade unions, to lead all these unions onto a basis of reality, the present economic and political reality, and to bring them to a common denominator, eliminating not only delusions but also the possibilities of future conflicts which may result from these agreements.

Our commission will certainly join in with such work and I would like to assure the government, Mr Premier and Mr Deputy Premier Rakowski and his commission here, of our support in these efforts, for it is necessary that the conditions for peaceful work should be created. It is necessary to exploit all social energies in existence--in trade unions, and in society, and in all economic organisms--for the best possible use of these energies, and not for exacerbation, for division, for creating conflicts.

The slogan of our commission in all these conflicts and in discussions of the conflicts is that the task of the commission is to ensure respect for the law. And if a certain matter, a certain accused, has already come before the court--bringing to court is an act of accusation--then the court and only the court decides the matter. This is something not always remembered either by the trade unions or the various striking groups, including those on hunger strike--if the information I have is correct, that is if my informers, my conversational partners with whom I (?have had a few) discussions on the subject of the release of political prisoners--all those who wrote that Poland is a country of political prisoners because we have four political prisoners in our country--that is to say, before the war more people from the Peasant Party were in jail from one village than unionists today in the whole country--it is not worth talking about. [background laughter] Well, then both the unions and all those who exert pressure should remember that they are exerting pressure on the court, that they are fighting against their own principles. However, because on the one hand they demand the independence of the courts--they demand rule of law--and on the other hand they bring pressure to bear on this court, they want to force the court to a decision against the law. Unfortunately, the political authorities do not always remember this--but that's another matter.

At the moment, some groups are on hunger strike again to free the Kowalczyk brothers. The matter has been submitted to the Council of State. The Council of State must obtain the opinion of the prosecutor's office, of the court, of the prison, in order to be able to make a legally binding decision in this matter. And once again, here one should not think that one can violate the law by means of a hunger strike. For either we want a state with rule of law, or we want to break the law by means of hunger strikes and demonstrations. So we reply in this spirit: that is to say, the commission replies to the letters and telexes that are sent in to us. And I would like to say that during these past 3 months, some 500 letters and telexes have been sent in, and the only secretary to the commission is unable to write replies to all of them. So if this statement by me is on television, I ask the foregiveness of all those who write to us and send telexes for the fact that we cannot reply to all of them, but we take them all into account.

Thus, in creating the condtions for peaceful work one ought to give the government the chance to peacefully carry out the intentions of which Mr Premier spoke here today. By now, the most important thing is the state. And the interests of any nation can be watched over only by the state. The nation that weakens its state, cuts off the foundations of its existence. Among us in Poland there has come into being a conviction, ever since the 19th century, that the nation is more important than the state, but if anyone is listening to me at the moment let him believe an old sociologist [refers to himself] who says that a nation without a state is not a nation, it is only a nationality, only an ethnic group. The interests of the nation can only be tended by its state and the strength of a nation is the strength of its state, and the state is the law. [tumultuous applause]

Very often, during our discussions with our conversational partners from the trade unions and with students, they tell us that our law is contrary to the social feelings of various groups, and to the moral feelings in the nation. I know what part feeling plays in the life of a nation and a society, but a state cannot guide itself according to feelings. Every man has his own individualized feelings, and every social group, every social class, every professional body has a different social feeling. And these social feelings cannot be the basis of the state: The basis of the state is the law. If the law is bad, then one changes it and improves it. And that is just what we want to do. And that is what we are doing and what our Sejm is doing: creating legal bases for the renewal of the state, and legal bases of a new, better socialist system, a better one, because it is one that returns to the essential roots and essential sources of socialism, a return to that which represents the essence of socialism.

In this quadrangle of the political forces of our country--that is, the party, the state, the church and the trade unions--the closest possible cooperation is necessary. The party, if it carries its congress through [Jezeli przeprowadzi swoj zjasd], if it finds itself again, recovers its strength--and we all are convinced that it will recover its strength--if the state rebuilds its economy, if it has wide support from the whole of society, then we will get out of the crisis.

I fully endorse the statement of Premier Jaruzelski that surely we have the economic potential, we have the cadres, we have hands and we have heads. All that is needed is for the Poles, as Wyspianski said: to want to want. [Quotation from his play "The Wedding"] Thank you. [applause]

More on Kowalczyk Case

LD130846 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 12 Jun 81

[Excerpt] During a break in the plenary discussions of the Sejm, members of the extraordinary commission supervising implementation of the agreements concluded in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie met. Chairman of the commission, Deputy Jan Szczepanski, familiarized the deputies with the progress of the talks. The talks had reached the stage where a pledge was made that the commission would adopt a stance and would submit proposals to the authorities about solving the Bydgoszcz affair by July. In the view of Professor Szczepanski, this deadline should be met.

The chairman of the commission also reported that Chairman of the Council of State Jablonski has accepted his proposal of 5 June, and agreed that the matter of the Kowalczyk brothers be examined at a session of the Council of State. The matter requires, however, a certain legal procedure which will still take some time.

Message of Thanks From Pope

LD121726 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1609 GMT 12 Jun 81

[Message of thanks from Pope John Paul II to members of the Polish Sejm, read by deputy speaker of the Sejm, Halina Skibniewska, at the 13th Sejm session--live]

[Text] A few moments ago we received a telegram containing the following: Mr Stanislaw Bucwa, speaker of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic: I send, through the speaker of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic Mr Stanislaw Gucwa, expressions of gratitude for the words sent to me and for the feelings expressed in them, and for the greetings after the attempt on my life in St Peter's Square in Rome, to all the members of the supreme legislative organ in Poland. Serving the all-round good of every person and every nation is an integral part of my universal mission in the Catholic Church. In carrying out this mission, I also wish to serve as best I can my fatherland and compatriots. In this same spirit, I express the best greetings to you. Esteemed sir, and to the house for the feelings which you have expressed.

[Signed[John Paul II, the pope.

Malcuzynski Address

LD122156 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1827 GMT 12 Jun 81

[Speech by Deputy Karol Makcuzynski at the 12 June Polish Seum session--live]

[Text] Mr Speaker, may it please the house, I used to speak in the Sejm on my own behalf; this time, I think I can speak on behalf of a larger group of people because I have been participating in the work of the consultative committee of societies representing creative arts and science, chaired by Prof Klemens Szaniawski.

On behalf of this committee I took part in the preparatory work concerned with the new law on censorship. I was one of the signatories, and to some small extent, co-author of a document which, in the recent critical days, was drawn up by a group of scientists, writers on public affairs, and representatives of creative art. This document has been delivered to the leadership of the government and the party as an expression of profound civic concern for the fate of the country and as an expression of spontaneous and resolute support for the line of renewal and policy of dialogue and social accord which the leadership of the state has proclaimed. It remains an unfathomed mystery to me why this document has not been given publicity by PAP and on television and why it has been published only in one weekly.

Together with the rest of the nation we have recently been experiencing moods of anxiety and fear as well as of hope. Our hope is that Poland and the Polish people will be able to pass another test of maturity and negotiate a trial which is not easy and has been described by some as dramatic. I think that these hopes have come true, at least in part, although naturally we are still far from solving our economic problems and the sociopolitical conflicts--in other words, the many threats which are still facing us. From this elevated rostrum I would like to repeat a few thoughts and conclusions which the serious opinion-making circles I have referred to previously wish to express. Contrary to the occasionally hasty opinions voiced both in our country and abroad, there exist in Poland powerful social forces which are interested in the continuation, improvement and restructuring of our rights, and our political and social structures so as to overcome the present crisis, and to maintain and consolidate the socialist foundations of the functioning of our state as well as--and this fact is no less important--to strengthen the links of our alliances with other socialist countries. In other words, there exist those forces which the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee has called the front of common sense, responsibility and involvement. I apologize if I have not produced a verbatim quotation but I think that my intentions are probably clear. I count among these forces the overwhelming majority of members of the governing party and of the allied parties, the overwhelming majority of the multimillion strong Solidarity and other TU organizations, new organizations of peasants which are awakening to the life of self-government, and of intellectual groups which are, perhaps, numerically smaller but are endowed with considerable moral prestige and influence. This joint front of accord enjoys the support of the Church, whose support counts for a great deal. We are facing a truly historic chance of setting up a genuine and not a facade-like front of national unity. Conditions for its action and consolidation lie in the consistent continuation of social dialogue, democratization and in the solution of conflicts by political and not police means--in other words, the continuation of the line which the party and the government began nearly 10 months ago. It was an answer to the protest of the working class against bankrupt methods of government, against arbitrary forms of exercising authority, against the limitation of the rights of citizens to decide the fate of their own country, against the spread of corruption and flippant treatment of the nation, and against disinformation and the manipulation--primitive manipulation--of the mass information media.

We still have people among us who, it seems, fail to understand that any attempt to retreat from this road is altogether impossible without a sharp social conflict, tragic in its consequences. There is not, and there cannot be, a return to pre-1980 Poland or to the old methods of ruling our country. The front of true unity of the nation to which I refer is both in favor of socialism and in favor of maintaining our alliances. It is also against building socialism on empty phrases and slogans, against basing fraternal relations with socialist countries on hackneyed declarations and ritualistic celebrations. The friendship and cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union is too important to be disposed of at commemorative soirees and in identical leading articles printed every year.

What is needed for its consolidation is mutual understanding and today, especially, and understanding of the changes which are taking place in Poland and of the specific Polish conditions. In this respect an important role should be played by our diplomatic service, by all the contacts of party, political and professional character, and also by correct information from the work by the mass information media.

I would like to devote a few words to the mass information media and to the profession of journalists which was severely chastised at the last session. Although this profession does not consist of angels and sages, and although our press, radio and television are far from being perfect, they do not, citizen deputies, constitute a hotbed of counterrevolutionary and antisocialist conspiracies as some would like to present them. It is necessary to fight, in a resolute manner any manifestations of lack of responsibility for the written word. Articles are sometimes displayed in the official press, in certain trade union publications and in the columns of wondrous publications, which are often not signed or initialed and which specialize in denigrating people to the sound of the roll of the drums of pseudosocialist grandiloquence very often laced with chauvinism. [applause]

Today, in present-day Poland, every written word is worth its weight not so much in gold as in dynamite. Everyone must remember this. But does this mean that we are to return to the press of past decades? Is this press to be accommodating, subservient, well-behaved, obedient to all authority--and read by no one and deprived of all prestige?

It is often said today that the party is seeking to rebuild its social trust, that the same is sought by the government, the Sejm and many public organizations. Such effort has also been made by the press and it has some achievement in this field. Today, not only is it read from cover to cover, it is snapped up--and not merely because of the shortage of paper. The press wanted, and still wants to become not only a credible source of information for the nation, not only a factor molding public opinion, but also a mirror and seismograph of that opinion.

May it please the house. There is a tale about Persian tyrants--it happened many centuries before Khomeyni--who ordered messengers bringing bad news or news unpleasant to the ruler to be decapitated. Let us not repeat such methods today with regard to our press, which is also going through its process of renewal, a process which is not free of blunders, stumblings and misunderstandings. We have, at long last, matured to such an extent that we publicly state that, with all respect, the government sometimes makes mistakes, that the party leadership sometimes makes mistakes. Why should the press be infallible? These demands are too high. It is not only our press and our mass information media that make mistakes. In view of the extremely complicated revolutionary process which our country is experiencing, the world press--where the events in Poland have been recorded all too often--published information which was distorted and commentaries which were naive or downright false. This is true not only of the Western press but also--this must be said openly, though with regret--the press of friendly countries. And because the press, according to a well-known saying, is the fifth or, today, the sixth world power, it happens that its opinions even influence the diagnoses and decisions of politicians. I repeat, words have the weight of dynamite.

May it please the house, we are at an important turning point in history. Undoubtedly, we must have a sense of responsibility for our words and our actions. Above all, we must find a way to solve the profound economic and political impasse. In this assembly, and on other occasions, many voices expressed full understanding for the anxiety and concern of our friends in the face of the development of the situation in Poland. I share these opinions, but, for this very reason, I think that from this rostrum we should also be frank and express the view that the picture of the situation in Poland as described in the CPSU Central Committee letter is in many respects biased. It is based on bringing forth negative phenomena, processes which alarm our own nation, but it overlooks the achivements of renewal, its therapeutic trend affecting both the nation and the state and the consolidation of the social foundation of socialism in our country. In Poland we have many manifestations of acts by extreme and extremist forces, irresponsible and demagogical forces. They have appeared both within the party and in the trade union movement, as well as in the press and in many public organizations. These are the inevitable costs of the process of changes and renewal.

However, it is not they that decide or will decide the main trend of political life in our country. I have endeavored to prove, in a very brief manner, how much greater and more powerful are forces taking shape in Poland in the joint front of common sense, action and sense of responsibility for the cause. The government, the state authorities and the party can count on the support of these forces as long as they adhere to the policy of concluding social contracts and of conducting a genuine dialogue--though I realize that such dialogue is very far from easy--as long as they adhere to the policy of strengthening the sovereignty of Poland and its due place in Europe and the world. Thank you. [loud applause]

Zawadzki Presents Draft TU Law

LD140224 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2010 GMT 12 Jun 81

[Speech by Sejm Deputy Prof Sylwester Zawadzki at 12 June Sejm session--live]

[Excerpts] Mr Speaker, may it please the Sejm! I have the honor of presenting the draft statute on the trade union bill submitted to the Sejm at the initiative of the Council of State. The importance of this draft needs no further justification. This is a legal act which refers to the association of the community of working people in towns and in the countryside and which thus has a fundamental bearing on the implementation of their economic, social and cultural rights and also on their position in our country's system. Thus, it refers both to the civic rights of working people and to the status of the working class, of the working peasantry, and of the working intelligentsia in the sociopolitical system of socialism.

If one of the most important features of the process of the socialist renewal in Poland is the introduction of institutional guarantees, then the formulation of regulations governing the legal status of trade unions occupies a central place. In order to form an overall position on this matter and to view it in all its complexity the following factors have to be taken into account:

First, the need for an innovative approach to the model of trade unions in a socialist state which is different in many respects from the way these matters have been treated up to now.

Second, the fact that the draft statute was prepared not in the privacy of offices but within the framework of the team appointed by the Council of State and consisting both of representatives of science and practice, and above all with the direct participation of the relevant representatives of the trade unions, including 12 representatives of NSZZ Solidarity, 5 from the Industrial Branch Trade Unions and in the final phase, 6 representatives, acting as observers, from the commission of the Autonomous Trade Unions. Thus, taking part in the formulation of the draft--if one also takes into account the broad participation of experts--was a group of people representing various concepts and various views of how to solve the problems. The work progressed under circumstances in which various diametrically opposing views clashed all the time. Thus, in no way was the harmonizing of the short and long term aims of the statute easy.

Third, one must not fail to take into account the fact that the preparatory work took place in a very difficult period when new forms of the trade union movement were taking shape and this process was accompanied by numerous social conflicts.

An analysis of the comments and remarks made during the consultations made it possible to draw up the draft statute which was accepted by the team on 25 and 26 April. On 30 April the draft trade union statute was presented to the chairman of the Council of State. After the council familiarized itself with the position of the legal commission of the Council of State which analyzed the draft statute at two sessions in May, and then with the position of the government Presidium, the Council of State submitted the draft statute to the Sejm on 30 May.

This draft is based almost wholly on the draft submitted by the team. The Council of State has introduced relatively few changes into it--changes which are clearly marked in the text of the justification--and has also retained in many places proposals for variant solutions.

Despite the fact that the aforementioned principle of the division of legal substance [materia prawna] was strictly observed, the draft statute had to be considerably expanded as compared to the exceptionally laconic 1949 statute on trade unions. However, it is difficult to agree with the accusation that it infringes too much on statutory substance to which such important matters belong as organizational structure, the rights and duties of members, the system of the election of trade union authorities and the powers of individual trade union organs.

The team working on the draft bill has prepared it in an effort--on the basis of the results of the social accord--to go, as far as possible, to meet the requirements of creating legal foundations for the new trade union movement adapted to the current social and economic conditions as well as to the development trends of the socialist state and society. This search for basically new solutions, within the framework of the social and political model of socialism, has been reflected in almost all component parts of the draft bill. Thus it is significant for the new position of trade unions in the social and political model of socialism on the one hand that trade unions have to recognize the principles of the constitution and especially the role of the party as the leading force in the nation in the building of socialism as well as the public ownership of the means of production. The trade union leadership emphasized on several occasions, in accordance with their statute, that they do not intend to turn the trade unions into a political party. On the other hand, this model has as its characteristic feature the fact that the party and the government recognize the independence of the unions from the administration as well as their self-governing character in the establishment of organizational structures and in determing the directions of their activities.

This means a departure from the model which regarded trade unions as an instrument of transmission, but at the same time this means that trade unions recognize the values represented in socialism, and consequently also the party which has created that system of values, defends it and, in pursuing the process of socialist renewal, wants to put them consistently into effect.

The same objectives are served by the solutions concerning the functions of the trade unions. For a long time the preference was for the priority to be given to the function of joint administration as the function which best corresponded to trade unions under socialism. It was justly recognized that this view led to a lowering of the rank of trade unions and a facade of action. Therefore, the draft bill states categorically the priority of the protective function of trade unions in Article Six as well as in Articles 20-24 of the draft bill.

At this point we enter a very important aspect of the draft bill: the issue of the mutual relationship and division of functions between the trade unions and the self-government of the work force. The draft bill proceeds from the assumption that the action of the trade unions is in its greater part concerned with the defense of the rights of employees, while the workers' self-government concentrates its attention on production matters. These functions, however, cannot be accurately separated. This is so because, while on the one hand the standard of safety and hygiene of labor at a place of work affects, to a great extent, the production performance of the enterprise, on the other, the possibility of raising the standard of safety and hygiene of labor depends to a considerable extent on production results. Progress in the sphere of production as well as in the field of the protection of the rights of employees is impossible without close cooperation between trade unions and workers' self-government. It can, therefore, be said with full responsibility that the model of trade unions shaped in the draft bill is not a one-sided model.

The draft bill does not propose the replacement of the transmission-production model with a (?functional)-vindicatory model. The priority of the protective function does not mean that it should be interpreted in a narrow sense nor that it should constitute the only content of the activities of trade unions. This function should be interpreted within the whole context of the regulations contained in Article One, taking into account the specific conditions of the socialist society.

According to the proposed draft bill the right to set up and associate in trade unions has been solved in a universal manner. In accordance, with Article 10 this right is enjoyed, above all, by employees, interpreted as persons donating their labor within a system of employment, independently of the basis for such employment or the position held. This right has been granted also to private farmers and their kin working together with them on their farms. The third group covers other persons deriving their livelihood from personal work without permanently employing other persons for the purpose of gain. This group includes craftsmen, home industry workers, taxi drivers, etc. If one takes into account the fact that retirement or the granting of a pension, or a temporary unemployment due to a search for work does not deprive a person of the right to belong to a union, such a wide scope of the rights of setting up and associating in trade unions meets satisfactorily the social demands put forward, among other occasions, during the course of public discussion.

While on the subject of trade union membership it was necessary, at the same time, to take into consideration the need for the synchronization of the trade unions bill with the bill on the universal duty to defend the Polish People's Republic. In accordance with the solutions adopted in the majority of states which have also been fully sanctioned by the International Labor Protection Convention, it is proposed to exclude from the right to associate: soldiers on active military service and persons performing substitute military service duties. A similar solution is being proposed with regard to the personnel of the Citizens' Militia and prison service. In view of the specific working conditions in enterprises of essential importance from the point of view of the country's defense potential and the protection of public law and order, the Council of State, following a proposal put forward by the Presidium of the government, has proposed a regulation authorizing the Council of Ministers to issue an order defining a trade union which will represent the rights and interests of the personnel at enterprises of the type mentioned. As for the right to association of the employees employed by appointment and working at supreme, central and local organs of administration, in accordance with the proposals of the Presidium of the government, Article 13 [word indistinct] envisages the regulation of this problem by a separate bill. This bill will consist of the service regulations already in preparation.

A very strong dispute within the team preparing the draft bill concerned the principles of the registration of trade unions. In the last count principles have been adopted which do not fully correspond to the classic form of registration as well as the classic form of notification. The draft bill envisages that the organ carrying out the registration will be the Warsaw Voivodship Court which will be able to refuse registration only in the event that the content of the statute indicates that the organization concerned is not a trade union in the interpretation of the draft bill or if the stipulations of the statute are inconsistent with the regulations contained in the draft bill. The issue of the registration of trade unions should be examined by the court without delay, not later than within 1 month since the submission of the application for registration. A trade union acquires legal status at the moment of its registration. In the event of a refusal of registration the union has a right to appeal to the Supreme Court.

The draft bill envisages two possible cases when a trade union can be removed from the register: namely, in the event of a trade union adopting a resolution to disband, and also in the event when the number of members remains at less than 100 persons for more than 3 months.

The draft bill contains no provision for removing a trade union from the register, if in its activities it systematically infringes upon legal procedures or the stipulations of its statute. The representatives of the trade unions took a stand against such a regulation, arguing that action contrary to the laws of the country should not be the responsibility of the organization as a whole but of individual trade union members who have infringed the valid laws of the country. The Presidium of the government, in a letter sent to the Council of State quoting International Labor Protection Convention Number 87 which provides for the duty of trade unions to observe the laws of the country, as well as citing the principles of law and order formulated in the constitution, drew attention to the fact that the absence of a regulation decision on the subject of this issue in the bill on trade unions may make it necessary for action to be taken on the basis of general principles. The Presidium of the government has, in this connection, proposed the examination by the Sejm of a formulation which has been included not in the text but in the justification of the draft bill. This formulation envisages that if a trade union does something in glaring contradiction to this draft bill or to other bills, the Warsaw Voivodship Court will have a right to set a 3-month limit within which the trade union would be expected to adapt its activities to the requirements of valid laws. Only in the event of such a time limit elapsing without a relevant action being taken, the voivodship court could declare a trade union struck off the register. A right to appeal to the Supreme Court against such a decision is envisaged.

Deliberations connected with this issue must not, however, omit those articles of the draft bill which concern the responsibility for the violation of regulations contained in the trade union bill. This responsibility concerns both the officials who on account of their posts or functions performed have violated trade union rights as well as trade union members who are responsible for a strike contrary to the decisions contained in the draft bill.

The draft bill proposes to fill the gap in the existing regulations concerning industrial disputes by stating in Article 31 that in the event of an industrial dispute the proper trade union authorities and administrative organs are dutybound immediately to start negotiations aimed at solving the dispute. The second stage of settling industrial disputes, in the event of the first one proving of no avail, envisages an arbitration procedure involving action by a commission consisting of six members appointed, in equal numbers, by the two sides. The draft bill proposes that this commission take action without delay to settle the dispute within a week, in the case of a factory dispute, or within 10 days if the dispute is at a higher level. In the event of failure of the two-stage obligatory system of mediation, an industrial dispute can, at the request of the sides concerned, be passed on for decision by an institution which hitherto has been unknown in our legal system: a college of public arbitrators. In this case a factory dispute would be the responsibility of a college of public arbitrators attached to the regional tribunal of social rights and security, while a dispute at a higher level would be the responsibility of a college of public arbitrators attached to the Supreme Court. The appeal to a college of public arbitrators is optional. If one of the two parties to the dispute does not decide otherwise before the dispute is submitted to the decision of the college, the decision of the college is binding on both sides.

The recognition of the right of trade unions to strike, which is the subject of Article 34, amounts to the implementation of the decisions contained in the August accord and in international obligations deriving from the ratification by Poland, on 3 March 1977, of the pact on economic, social and cultural rights. If the system of counciliatory settling of disputes proposed by the draft bill is adopted, it is possible to hope that most disputes will be settled in this manner without any need to resort to strikes which, in the draft bill, have been recognized as the ultimate means. A strike cannot be proclaimed without first exhausting the opportunities for settling a dispute in accordance with the principles defined in Articles 31 and 32. There is one more extremely important condition which must be fulfilled in the adoption of decisions on the planning of a strike.

The trade union organ must take into account the commensurability of the demnds with the issues involved in a strike. It must therefore be guided not only by the interests of the work force but also by the interests of the nation as a whole. This aspect of the whole matter cannot be overlooked because Article 34 of the draft bill envisages the possibility, in precisely such cases, of other forms of protest that fully observe the legal procedure and the principles of social coexistence and that could be no less effective.

Also of great importance, from this point of view, is the definition of a strike, formulated in Article 35, which states that a strike is constituted by a collective abstention from labor for the purpose of protecting collective interests of the employees as well as the rights and liberties of trade unions. Although every strike in a socialist country is a political strike and contains certain political aspects, nevertheless, the aforementioned definition excludes political strikes in the strict sense of the word, strikes of exclusively political character. For this reason, therefore, the extremist elements exerted pressure that the attempt to provide a definition of the strike be abandoned thus opening opportunities for political strikes. This was rejected by the whole team, including the trade union representatives who were its members.

Of extreme importance, both from the point of view of work forces and from the viewpoint of the interests of the nation as a whole, are the conditions for the proclamation of a strike. The draft bill lists five such conditions: participation in the strike is voluntary and nobody can be compelled to take part or to refuse to take part in this form of protest; consequently the strike may be proclaimed by the factory element of a trade union after obtaining acceptance from the majority of the work force, and, as proposed by the Presidium of the government, by a majority of two thirds.

The trade union organs must obtain consent for the decision from their superior organ in the union. A strike must be announced at least 7 days in advance. Notification of the strike should be given to the manager of the enterprise concerned, and there exists the possibility of proclaiming a warning strike which should not last longer than 2 hours. Finally, the organizers of the strike are obliged, in joint action with the manager of the enterprise, to ensure the protection of property and uninterrupted operation of those installations and equipment the immobilization of which could cause hazards to human life or health or irretrievable damage.

It seems that consistent observance of these conditions would stem from a profound interpretation of the interests of the work forces and of the interests of the nation as a whole. Therefore, the draft bill envisages that if these conditions have been fulfilled--that is, in the event of a strike being conducted in accordance with the regulations of the bill--participation in that strike so organized would not constitute a violation of the duties of the employee. In such a case, too, the place of employment would pay out compensation for the remuneration lost amounting to one-half of the wages covering the period of time of justified absence from work. An accord which settles a strike may agree on a higher compensation, taking into account all the circumstances connected with the strike and especially the scope of the demands that have been met or the fact that the accord envisages the making up of arrears caused by the strike within a fixed time limit. On the issue of compensation, just as on other issues, the draft bill contains proposals for alternative solutions submitted by the trade unions.

Trade union regulations throughout the world envisage, in the interests of community as a whole, certain limitations on the right to strike. The proposals on this issue included in the draft bill also derive their justification from the International Protection of Labor Conventions which envisage such possibilities.

Article 40 of the draft bill contains a fairly large list of exceptions of this kind.

More on Draft TU Law

LD131846 Warsaw PAP in English 1700 GMT 13 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Jun (PAP)--At latest Sejm session Professor Sylwester Zawadzki presented the draft law on trade unions. Professor Zawadzki is head of the team for the preparation of the draft.

Basing on the social agreements of Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie, the team has prepared a draft which is an attempt at satisfying the need for a legislative base to serve the new model of trade unions movement, adequate to current socio-economic conditions and the development trends of the socialist state and society, Prof. Zawadzki told the Sejm.

It is characteristic of the trade unions' new place in the sociopolitical model of socialism that, on the one hand, the trade unions recognize constitutional principles, in particular the role of the PUWP as the leading force of the society in the construction of socialism and social ownership of the means of production, and, on the other hand, the party and the government's recognition of the unions' independence of the administration and their self-government in decisions concerning organizational structures and directions of activity.

The draft assigns priority importance to the trade unions' protective function, Prof. Zawadzki said.

The authors of the draft did not agree that the proper field for the work of the new unions shoud be limited to the sphere of distribution of the national income, and not production. The draft says: "Trade unions protect not only the current, but also the long-range interests of the working people" and "trade unions are concerned not only with a just distribution of the national income, but also with multiplying it."

The draft grants the right to associate in trade unions first of all to employees, also private farmers and their families working together with them on the farm, and other people living on their own work.

The draft adopts an equal-footing model of cooperation between the unions and bodies of state and economic administration.

The draft grants the trade unions the right to strike in adherence to the provisions of the August agreements and international obligations. Although every strike in a socialist country is a political fact, the definition of strike contained in the draft rules out purely political strikes.

The draft also envisages a possibility of suspending the right to strike due to special situations in the country.

The specific traits of the legal position of the Private Farmers' Union are reflected in a chapter which describes its tasks and special rights.

Resolution Adopted

LD130908 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0300 GMT 13 Jun 81

[Excerpt] The debate on the speech by the chairman of the Council of Ministers came to an end, and the Sejm adopted the following decision:

The Sejm approves the direction of the work of the government outlined in the information presented by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, and expresses complete support for the program presented by him.

The Sejm calls on all state institutions, public organizations and all citizens to be united in their actions for the sake of stabilization and to overcome the crisis.

The Sejm calls on the government to take decisive action against all infringements of the law.

The Sejm notes the special need for more effective resistance to all actions which are contrary to the constitutional principles of our country's system and socialist alliance.

Deputy Sylwester Zawadzki (PZPR) spoke on a further item of the agenda--the first reading of the draft trade union law. He introduced the draft law which has been submitted by the Polish Council of State. The draft law, he said, occupies a central place among the institutional guarantees of the process of socialist renewal. The draft is based on the Polish constitution, of the international pact of economic, social and cultural rights, on ILO conventions and on the agreements signed in Gdansk [words indistinct]

In view of the fact that the session continued past midnight, the Sejm decided to study two draft laws--on the institution of a medal "for participation in the defensive war of 1939" and on the institution of the "1944 Warsaw uprising cross"--at its next session, which has been scheduled for the last 10 days of June.

REPORT-BACK CONFERENCES AND ELECTION RESULTS

LD132020 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 13 Jun 81

[Text] The Organization Department of the PZPR Central Committee reported that as of yesterday, 520 delegates had been elected to the congress so far during the PZPR report-back and election campaign. At the works conferences in the largest party organizations, 357 delegates to the congress have been elected. At the voidvodship conferences in Bialystok, Gdansk, Olsztyn, Wloclawek and Szczecin 163 delegates have been elected. Among all the delegates there are 114 workers 344 white collar workers, and also 46 directors. So far 33 peasants have been elected to the congress.

Leaders Attending

LD131109 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 13 Jun 81

[Text] In Leszno, Krakow and Zielona Gora, voivodship report-back and election party conferences began today. They will assess the activities during the term of office that has ended. They will map out the main directions for the activity of voivodship party authorities and delegates to the Ninth PZPR Congress.

Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, is present at the conference in Krakow.

Among the delegates at the conference are Roman Ney, candidate member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary; Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski; Josef Klasa, director of the Press, Radio and Television Department of the Central Committee; Zbigniew Szalajda, minister of metallurgy; and Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the central board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth.

Present at the conference in Zielona Gora is Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary.

Taking part in the session of the voivodship report-back and election conference in Leszno are Tadeusz Grabski, member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary; and Albin Szyszka, chairman of the Consultative Commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions.

Krakow Conference Opens

LD140334 Warsaw PAP in English 2035 GMT 13 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Jun (PAP)--The 17th reporting and election conference of PUWP organization of Krakow Municpal Voivodship opened today. Particpating in the conference is PUWP CC First Secretary Stanislaw Kania. Delegates to the conference are also alternate member of the Political Bureau, CC Secretary Roman Ney, Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, head of the CC Department of Press, Radio and TV Jozef Klasa, and chairman of the main board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth Jerzy Jaskiernia.

First Secretary of Krakow PUWP Committee Krystyn Dabrowa delivered a report: We are a party organization which has been practically consolidating the front of common sense and responsibility, the line of agreement. of which Stanislaw Kania has been and is consistent defender and animator, he said. Our party enjoys support of all socio-occupational communities, factories, universities and institutions.

There are forces which want to use the errors resulting from the practice of socialist construction against socialism (?and against) the party. We have allowed people with a definitely anti-communist programme of activity to get rooted in mass trade union movement--in Solidarity. Some Solidarity leaders undertake strictly political work or sponsor opposition groups with a clearly antisocialist or anti-Soviet character. We can afford to firmly counteract those activities. We shall wage the struggle for the existence of socialist, i.e. independent Poland within the line of a peaceful resolution of conflicts. We shall be solving them on our own, using various political and legal means, Dabrowa said.

Kania, Rakowski Elected

LD140912 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Text] Stanislaw Kania has been elected delegate to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. The mandate has been entrusted to him by the 17th report-back and election conference of the Krakow party organization. Also elected were Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski; head of the Central Committee Press, Radio and Television Department, Jozef Klasa; chairman of the central board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, Jerzy Jaskiernia; first secretary of the Krakow party committee, Krystyn Dabrowa; mayor of the city of Krakow, Jozef Gajewicz; and chief editor of GAZETA KRAKOWSKA, Maciej Szymowski.

Today, the Krakow conference, like conferences in Leszno and Zielona Gora, will continue debate, while the conference in Opole ended at 0200 this morning, 146 persons having been elected delegates.

More on Kania Election

LD141918 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1630 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Excerpt] The Krakow report-back and election conference, which today was in session until 0400, resumed its session in the afternoon. The most important problems of the party and country were touched upon in the discussion, and concrete proposals and postulates are being formulated.

Stanislaw Kania is participating in the Krakow conference session. Last night he was entrusted with a mandate of congress delegates. This election was received with warm applause by the conference particpants. Stanislaw Kania received 365 of 396 valid votes. That is almost 95 percent of the votes, decisively the greatest number of votes among all elected delegates.

Kania Address

LD141846 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Speech by PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Stanislaw Kania at PZPR Krakow Report-Back and Election Conference--recorded; date not given]

[Text] Esteemed comrade delegates, thank you cordially for entrusting me with the mandate to be your delegate, the delegate of the Krakow party organization, to the party's ninth extroordinary congress. This is a source of great personal satisfaction for me because my birthplace is in Krakow Voivodship. The beginning of my activities, both political and as a soldier of the resistance movement, as well as in my capacity as a member of the Youth Combat Alliance and of the Polish Workers' Party, were all here in the Krakow land, as it was referred to in those days. For me it is altogether a symbolic matter that my first party membership card was issued by the Krakow party organization and that the first mandate to be a delegate to the party congress in my capacity as party secretary has also been received by me from the Krakow organization of the party.

I am conscious of the fact that I am your delegate, the delegate of people of a city and region greatly respected in Poland, whose great service for Poland in past centuries and today has constituted an important pillar of People's Poland. This land, city, voivodship has brought Poland great cultural and progressive riches, but it also has a revolutionary tradition. Today it means so much as an important great center of science, culture, education and also modern industry.

I accept this mandate, comrades, as an expression of recognition of confidence in the line of the Central Committee since its sixth plenary session. This is, as we define it, a line of agreement, a line of socialist renewal, but it must also become a line of a program of struggle against the threats to the national existence of Poles. This is not my line, as is being written, but the line of the party, and what criticism there is of it in our ranks is of secondary importance. I will stay faithful to that line to the end; you can be sure of that.

The debate at this conference has been very comprehensive and extremely constructive. Your speeches, together with the material submitted to the conference and the report delivered by Comrade Krystyn Dabrowa have revealed a wide panorama of problems and opportunities of Krakow and Krakow Voivodship. You have also given witness to the breadth of your interests. The conservation and enhancement of Krakow and the protection of the environment, have been forcefully presented here. Very strong emphasis, too, was placed on the fact that the Krakow conurbation is finding its present boundaries too restrictive. All this must be given favorable consideration, although you know yourselves that these matters are extremely complicated because the capabilities of our country are limited more than ever before. We cannot, however, forget the fact--and it is a fact--that the needs of Krakow and its economy and the living conditions of the people were not adequately appreciated and considered in the past periods, in proportion to the possibilities of our state. At the congress we shall discuss the program of the socialist development of our country, a program of the development of democracy, of the strengthening of the leading role of the party and the principles of the stabilization of the social and economic situation which, as is well known, is extremely difficult, even downright tragic.

This was referred to at Friday's session of the Sejm by chairman of the Council of Ministers Comrade Jaruzelski; every Polish family has experienced it. At the congress we shall discuss changes to the party statute so that the statute, or as we call it, the party constitution, will provide all the guarantees which party law can create to prevent forever the reappearance of those deformations which brought about the shock which our country and our party have been experiencing, not for the first time, a shock whose consequences we are experiencing to this day in the shape of the major economic and political crisis.

Esteemed comrades, it is necessary to concentrate all our energy on what is important today. It is good that one can say such a lot of good things about the Krakow party organization and its leadership as regards its dynamism, activeness and initiative and its presentation of various solutions and concepts linked with a good preparation to the party congress. Today it is most important to know that we are dealing with great threats to socialism in our country, the threats to its independent existence as a state.

All this is connected with the intensification of the destructive activities directed against our state, which has been going on for many months now. It is connected with the fact that the enemies of socialism are taking advantage of the workers' trade union organization Solidarity and use it for various destructive activities.

We spoke about this with full firmness at the 11th plenum of the Central Committee, both in the report of the Politburo, in the discussion and in the resolution of the Central Committee, which is well known.

The letter of the CPSU Central Committee sent to the Central Committee of our party must be treated with utmost seriousness. I have already stated on behalf of the Politburo, and I shall repeat once again, that the CPSU has a right to such a reaction and there is sufficiently full justification for the concern expressed in the letter.

We repeat: Socialism must be defended in the same way in which one defends independence, because permanent independence without socialism is impossible, and everyone must realize this today, more clearly than ever before.

We declare that counterrevolution in Poland will not succeed. This is clear and certain--it is simply axiomatic. Socialism is a national system but it also is an international force. What matters is that the cost of this struggle, the price of this struggle, should not be tragic for our nation. Today the supreme task, the task of the greatest importance, is the reestablishment of the functioning of the organs of administration, the organs of authority, the reestablishment of respect for law; as far as that is concerned we have numerous manifestations of paralysis in various elements of authority, phenomena of dual authority and anarchy occur, various decisions are being forced through, including decisions on personnel matters. An immediate end must be put to all these phenomena. The state is the supreme asset of the nation: It must be protected with all our might and its authority must be ensured; efforts must be made to see that it is able to function continuously. Therefore, we cannot tolerate any manifestations of incitement against the foundations of our system, against the party, against our alliances and especially the Polish-Soviet alliance.

And we have recently been dealing with such instances on a wider scale than in previous months. A political offensive is essential here; but the organs of authority, too, the militia and the security services and the prosecutor's office, cannot show, because they must not show, any tolerance of these phenomena. The order of the day is to take all steps toward a unified offensive by party members, by all its cells, to avert the threats to our socialist homeland. The tone of the mass propaganda media--the press, radio and television--must alter, undergo a change, to fit in with our sitaution. In our party there is not, nor can there be, room for alien opinions. There is no room for passive people. There is no room either for even the most revolutionary observers, but only observers, of our situation. There is a need for party people to be people of struggle against the dangers we are dealing with. We will be and should (?continue to) be persistent, in building an alliance of sensible, responsible people, for whom the greatest threat to democracy, to socialist democracy, is the great decline in discipline. The restoration of social discipline is a basic condition for the successful development of democracy in our country.

A particular significance, as has been stressed from this platform, is attached to our relations with the trade unions: We will promote, and I repeat this, the consolidation of the position of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions, which do not hide the fact that they want to be the ally of our party in building the prosperity of People's Poland. The largest trade union organization is Solidarity. Here, on the broadest scale, occur signs of exploiting former discontent for organizing various forms of pressure on the authorities, in order to deprive it of the ability to act.

That organization is an area, a field of active propaganda--and not only propaganda--of work by various opponents of socialism, by various adventurists. These words do not imply a change in attitude to Solidarity; they imply concern to keep Solidarity as a worker organization, serving the workers' interest and directed by people who are linked with the workers' interest. The transformations in Solidarity are an important key to a change in our situation--and it must undergo a change.

Finally, what lies ahead of us? The great national tasks include the task of rebuilding the credibility of people's Poland as an ally. Poland should not be, but is, a week link in the socialist community; a weakened cell in the system of socialist integration within CEMA. It is a weak link in the joint defense alliance within the framework of the Warsaw Pact. A change in this situation is our national need; but do not let us forget, it is also our internationalist duty.

Esteemed comrades! I would like to warmly hope that taking part in this conference has brought you satisfaction, which you will feel, not so much when you leave this hall, but later, (?after) some time, perhaps in a year's time. After some length of time, the decisions we take today, the steps we are already taking, will be verified; and therefore the program you approve will be verified, as will the party leadership you choose--in my conviction, a good leadership, an energetic one--as it has been hitherto. That is the kind of leadership the Krakow party organization needs.

The correctness of the election of congress delegates and their attitude at the congress--including my attitude too, because the congress is a historic event--will also be verified. What happens in connection with the congress and at the congress itself may decide the historical fate of Poland, and so everything has to go well for us. That is how we must view the satisfaction at taking part in this hard-working debate at the conference. All the best, comrades! [prolonged applause]

Other Delegates' Comments

LD142010 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Unidentified correspondent report from Krakow on 14 June session of PZPR Krakow voivodship report and election conference]

[Text] This is Krakow. As it turned out, the second round of the election did not decide the general issue of the election of delegates to the congress. Only five persons obtained the necessary minimum of votes: [Passage indistinct] therefore so far only 12 mandates of delegates to the congress have been decided upon; altogether the voivodship party organization in Krakow itself is to send 44 delegates. With the 14 delegates directly elected previously by party conferences at industrial enterprises and other local party organizations, the voivodship party organization will be represented by 58 delegates.

The afternoon discussion, just like yesterday's debate, concerned not only local Krakow issues. For instance, Edward Krawczyk, the delegate representing railway workers, raised the problem of the implementation of the party's leading role. The party, he said, has been duplicating administration and has thus relieved that administration of the responsibility of its action. The program guidelines must specify clearly the extent of the responsibilities of the party and those of the administration.

[Name indistinct], the delegate from Srodmiescie District said, among other things, that we have grown used to the monopoly of truth and of power. At the same time we do not understand the mechanism of power; it is a costly and very difficult science. There is no room in the party for indifferent people. We must give thought to the future of the party to which we belong. The party must be strengthened and its prestige must be fought for. We must not turn the trend concerned with bringing the guilty people to book into the main problem of the day. It is obvious that such people must be brought to account consistently but we should be talking now about the program, about what has to be done by the party to find a way out of the crisis.

[Name indistinct], the representative of [name indistinct], spoke about the problem of law and order. Laws must provide guarantees for people and not the other way around, as has been the case so far. The speech by the next delegate, Jacek Szewczyk, can be described in a nutshell as follows: it is necessary to define a model of the style of life and consumption. Simply, what can we afford? The speech by a representative of the older generation, the delegate of the Podgorze District of Krakow was significant. He said that new people are coming into the party. Indeed, this was both widely seen and heard during the conference. The young people from various places of employment proposed specific solutions and expressed no complaints. Reflecting long-term ideas, (?a look forward). Thus, the thesis is confirmed that the Krakow party organization has had its full of activities connected with bringing people to book.

Grabski on CPSU Letter

LD142258 Warsaw PAP in English 2031 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Jun (PAP)--The 4th PUWP Leszno Voivodship election conference came to an end today. Of three candidates, Jan Plociniczak, to-date head of the voivodship party control commission, was elected by secret ballot first secretary of the voivodship committee. The conference also elected delegates to the 9th PUWP Congress, among them head of the consultative commission of Branch Trade Unions Albin Szyzka.

(?Speaking) in the conference, member of the Political Bureau PUWP CC Secretary Tadeusz Grabski referred to the 11th PUWP CC Plenum, which played an important role in the definition of our plans and goals for before and after the congress.

Teh CPSU CC letter to the PUWP CC has been fully endorsed. The judgement that inconsistent activity of party leaders is also to blame for the crisis should be considered correct, he said.

When evaluating the to-date progress of the campaign, one must say that a process of renewal is under way in the party on which stabilization of the country's political and economic life can be founded. A precious achievement of the campaign is the renewal of genuine socialist democracy and the critical self-evaluation of mistakes, causes of the crisis, very profound in the party "bottoms", and the striving to elaborate proper methods for the work of party organizations in renewal process.

However, there also negative phenomena in the campaign. One of them is the ideological unsettling of the party, and also not infrequent are also cases of manipulating voters, removing merited activists.

Another danger is the fact that the number of workers on all levels of authorities and among congress delegates has dropped.

The participants in the 11th Plenum also discussed the mass media. The presentation of various phenomena is increasingly one-sided; the mass media are seeking cheap sensation and manipulating information, Grabski said.

'Serious Disturbances'

LD140140 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Text] In the course of the report-back and election conference in Leszno, Tadeusz Grabski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee, took the floor. Speaking about the session of the 11th Central Committee Plenum he said that it played an important role in defining the party's aims and plans for the period before the congress and after the congress. He directed the attention of the participants of the conference to three matters, which according to him are of fundamental importance to the party and the country. The first is the evaluation of the progress so far of the election and report-back campaign and preparations for the congress and the evaluation of the transformations going on in the party. The second is the strengthening of our state, in which serious disturbances [zaklocenia] have taken place recently in its functioning. The third is the place of Poland in the world, or more precisely, in the family of the socialist countries.

Answering the questions of the delegates concerning his speech at the 11th the Central Committee Plenum, Tadeusz Grabski stated that frequently at the sessions of the Politburo he expressed his anxiety [niepoko]. A lot of matters slipped from our hands and many issues were presented in a different light at the Politburo session and then they were implemented differently. In the final part of his speech Tadeusz Grabski discussed the current economic situation of the country.

Barcikowski on Plenum, Letter

LD150858 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0700 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 14 June (PAP)--A PZPR voivodship election and report-back conference ended in Zielona Gora on 14 June. The speeches at the conference were marked by concern about the destiny of the country, which is sunk in profound crisis, but optimism and conviction were also expressed to the effect that the difficulties will be overcome through the efforts of all the people.

One of the participants in the discussion, Walerian Solinski, first secretary of the factory party organization of the metallurgical plant in Nowa Sol, stressed the need for the decision of the 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum to be fulfilled. Support was expressed for the consistent implementation of the policy of renewal proposed by Stanislaw Kania, but those taking part in the debate did not spare words of criticism directed against the central party and state authorities for the slow rate of economic reform and the difficulty of transformation in other spheres of life.

Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, spoke in the discussion. He said that we recently witnessed an event of great importance in our party's life: the 11th PZPR Central Committee plenum, a session which coincided with the letter sent to our party, to the Central Committee, by the CPSU leadership. This letter expressed the anxieties of the Soviet (?comrades) in connection with the development of the situation in Poland, the position of our party and socialism in our country. This session therefore attracted the attention of all our people and aroused a great response in the world. The prevailing opinion was that (?the present) line of the party remains correct and topical, although its realization demands considerably more energetic and decisive activity, K. Barcikowski stressed.

There is no doubt, K. Barcikowski continued, that the crucial factor in the development of the situation in Poland and in the strength of socialism is and will continue to be our party. The PZPR Central Committee session thus gave top priority to the establishment of our party's unity in action.

The conference elected the first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship committee, who once again was Jerzy Dabrowski. Twenty-nine delegates to the ninth party congress were elected, including Gen Tadeusz Tuczapski, deputy minister of national defense.

Zabinski Views Letter

LD141940 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Text] Yesterday party conferences were held at several large municipal centers in Katowice Voivodship. Andrzej Zabinski, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Katowice party voivodship committee, participated in the conference at Wodzislaw Slaski. Zygmunt (Kaminski), a delegate to the ninth congress from the Pierwszy Maja mine, stated that the situation in which the party becomes dissociated from the masses and opposes (?them) must never recur. Examples of irresponsible actions by some local Solidarity activists were cited, and it was stated self-critically that the party itself is also partly to blame for this. In August and September last year a political gap formed and, because of the lack of initiative by the party, the party's role was somewhat taken over by the new trade unions. Engineer Kazimierz (Migula) of the Anna mine spoke about this, adding that the trade unions are still performing this role because so far the party, apart from verbal declarations, has not had the strength to undertake many issues.

The discussion referred repeatedly to the resolution of the 11th plenum, supporting its contents. In his speech in the discussion, Andrzej Zabinski spoke among other things of the conditions affecting Polish issues in the international arena, and pointed out the responsibility of the party and its leadership for the development of the situation.

Our allies, he said, do not have in mind stopping the renewal in Poland, the democratization of life, or the economic reform. They want one thing; They want us to be a permanent link in the socialist community, and a trustworthy political and economic partner. The letter of the Soviet comrades thus ought to be treated in the category of the Polish raison d'etat. The other side of democracy constitutes a sense of responsibility, Andrzej Zabinski stressed. It is true that every government ought to serve the nation in the first place, but a nation does not mean anything without a strong government.

Andrzej Zabinski, as one of 13 delegates of the Wodzislaw organization, was voted a mandate to the voivodship conference in Katowice.

Deliberations at Opole

LD132148 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 12 Jun 81

[Excerpt] The 11th hour of the deliberations of the Opole Voivodship PZPR report-back and election conference has begun. Contrary to expectations, procedural matters took a relatively short time--barely an hour and a half. Guided by the decisions contained in the resolution of the 11th Central Committee Plenum, the problem concerning the 13 delegates to the congress who were elected in an informal manner in (?six) parish and urban-parish organizations in Opole Voivodship was solved. The conference decided that the comrades elected previsouly can, of course, stand for election during the deliberations taking place, but that this must take place in accordance with the procedures established in this sphere.

A speech which formed a lead-in to the discussion was delivered by Jozef Masny, hitherto first secretary of the Opole Voivodship PZPR committee. Discussions then got underway. More than 80 delegates have put their names down for it. The main theme is that of settling accounts, but also being expressed is concern for finding ways out of the political and economic crisis.

Kurowski Comments at Opole

LD150706 Warsaw PAP in English 2040 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Jun (PAP)--The PUWP report and election voivodship conference in Opole, southwest Poland, which ended today elected Eugeniusz Mroz, so far the head of the PUWP VC [Voivodship Committee] Organization Department, the first secretary of the VC. The conference also elected 46 delegates to the extraordinary 9th PUWP Congress. The resolution adopted at the close of the meeting states that the current task of the party is work on the restoration of the nation's confidence in the party policy and lines of activity, realization of the socialist renewal, development of democracy and self-government, fast implementation of the economic reform.

Taking the [words indistinct] the course of the congress and its resolutions would decide about the party's ability to overcome the existing crisis and restore confidence, to strengthen the leading role of the party in the socialist renewal. He affirmed that in the conditions of political struggle, open attacks on the party and its [words indistinct] the continuation of discussion is a difficult and responsible task. The emotions and the atmosphere of hot discussions which are accompanied by a pressure [words indistinct] views on the party to lead to the (?emergence) of different (stands) and views also in the party. We must calmly seek common standpoints having at heart the supreme [word indistinct] and principles of our party. Zdzislaw Kurowski continued that we should encourage trade union activists to more profoundly [words indistinct]: He stressed that [words indistinct] Solidarity in many enterprises gives an example of economic thinking, similarly as do the activists of branch trade unions. More attention must be paid to the building of durable relations with trade unions.

The deepening of chaos and economic crisis fosters objectively those forces which maintain that the socialist system is nonreformable and that the blame for all the effects of the run-down economy falls only on the party and government. So, it is an evolutionary march to power, a gradual take-over, while our party lacks the crucial instinct of defence and survival. Many links of our party lost the ability of political assessment of the occurring process, and one-sidedly perceive the evil only in the ranks of the party. Particularly unfair judgements refer to party organs and its apparatus. The scenario of the development of the development of the situation becomes easy to read for people of good will and to observers of the social life. The wrong development of these processes is pointed out to us by our allies who are entitled and even obliged to do it by the interest of the socialist community and [word indistinct] the collective security, alliances, and above all the cause of peace.

More on Kurowski

LD132158 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 13 Jun 81

[Excerpts] The 15th hour of the second day of the session of the Opole report-back and election conference has passed. A guest at the conference, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Zdzislaw Kurowski, took part in the discussions. His speech mostly concerned issues contained in the resolution of the 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, including the role and tasks of the upcoming congress, matters concerning implementation of agreements and international alliances, particularly among the countries of the socialist community, and problems which result from implementation of the social agreements. Comrade Kurowski's speech was met by a series of sharply critical responses from the delegates. He was accused, most of all, of too closely adhering to principles [zbytnia pryncypialnosc]. It was said that many of the issues presented by him were defined incorrectly or were even untrue. The guest at the conference answered many of the accusations and explained that many sentences uttered in the heat of the debate could simply have been misunderstood. The debate is continuing. The first round of elections started at 1300, but full results are not yet known.

SCINTEIA COMMENTS ON SITUATION IN POLAND

AU141645 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jun 81 p 5

["In the Interests of the Polish People, of Friendly Poland's Socialist Development"]

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Jun Readers have of late asked the Editorial Board of SCINTEIA various details about the situation in Poland, the difficulties facing the Polish people and about how action is taken to overcome them. The article below is the answer.

It should be stressed from the very beginning that the questions emerging in Poland are, of course, questions concerning the Polish people, the development of their own country, and our party, according to its well-known principled position, does not wish to interfere in their internal affairs. The evolution of the situation in Poland, the phenomena of tension that have lasted so long, however, stir natural public concern in our country, just as in other countries, and among international progressive circles. The Romanian people's worry is the more understandable as Poland is a friend and ally to whose people we feel linked by multiple traditional ties and especially by the common goals of building the new, socialist society. In the spirit of this friendship, the working people in our country are concerned with developments in Poland, wishing to see the difficulties overcome as soon as possible and the existing situation normalized, so that the Polish people may resume their constructive activity and secure Poland's economic and social development on the road of socialism.

In connection with the current state of affairs, arresting attention are the considerations of the Polish party and state leadership which highlight the complexity of the situation economically, socially and politically. In this respect, the report of the Politburo delivered at the recent plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee by Comrade Stanislaw Kania stressed that "the situation of the Polish economy is extremely serious and, unfortunately, for all measures taken by the government, it keeps worsening" consequent to "the diminution of production and to the weakening of the social discipline." There is "a danger that the national income will be greatly diminished and the masses' living standard further lowered." "For a long time stresses the report presented at the plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee"--we have been working in an extremely complex and tense political situation....

"The phenomena of anarchy and the purposeful counterrevolutionary actions are a danger to socialism and to the national existence." Pointing out that this situation "may inevitably lead to confrontation, to most dramatic consequences", the report stresses the need for "everything to be done in order not to allow such a prospect."

In turn, W. Jaruzelski, chairman of the Polish Government, pointed out at the plenary meeting that "a wall should be raised, the way should be barred to the extremist forces, to the forces that check the normal course of power, that aspire at seizing it, that is, in fact, that aspire to an anti-socialist overthrow."

The decision endorsed by the recent plenary meeting of the CC of the PZPR highlights a host of conclusions and considerations of utmost importance for overcoming the current situation and ensuring Poland's socialist development. The decision clearly shows that the main guarantee of translation into life of the line of socialist renewal if the PZPR. Its ideological unity and organizational cohesion, the active spirit of all members and echelons of the party account for the keystone of doing away with the profound social crisis Poland is experiencing. Through the decision of the plenary meeting, the PZPR Central Committee calls on the government of the Polish People's Republic and all the state bodies, which stand guard to the law, to fully defend the state, its institutions and representatives, to counteract the hostile propaganda, the anarchy and arbitrariness.

"All party members, all Polish people"--the decision stresses--"must be aware of the historic responsibility of our people and state today. The safety of the frontiers, Poland's independence and sovereignty, as well as the balance of forces in Europe and the world over will depend on whether Poland will in the future be a strong socialist state."

As is known, our party has outlined, on other occasions too, its position vis-a-vis the situation in Poland, the modalities of settlement of the questions concerning the Polish people. "We are convinced"--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu recently stressed--"that the PZPR, the Polish working class and people will act in close unity and will know how to acequately solve the problems. We wish them full success on this line, in the socialist construction, in the affirmation of the force and strength of socialism in Poland."

Of course, life, developments in that country, the analyses made by the leading Polish party and state forums have proved that various mistakes and distortions have been comitted for a long time, while ignoring Poland's specific conditions, the demands of objective laws, the problems deriving from the existence of the sector grounded on private property, and violating the principles of social ethics and equity.

The errors made cannot and must not cast a shadow on or blur the Polish people's historic gains, the fact that in the period of socialism big changes have been wrought in Poland, the national and social liberation was accomplished, a new economy has been developed, the national wealth, which is the fruit of the Polish people's work and their property, has increased, that the working people freed of exploitation are free, masters of their destiny.

It is a fact, however, that the difficulties which have emerged have considerably increased as a consequence of the various negative actions and manifestations, strikes and work stoppages, incidents and disorders that have caused serious disruptions and imbalances in the system of economic and social life, or, especially in these circumstances, when crisis phenomena keep being manifested. The lowering of production and labor productivity, the diminution of the national income continue to worsen the economic and social situation, bring about the stagnation or even regression of the national economy, upset fulfillment of the population's needs and the repayment of the external debts.

In these circumstances, it is most obvious that the main way to solve complex issues facing Poland is work, preservation of and tenacious efforts in production, strengthening of the order and discipline, of the spirit of social responsibility for the country's welfare. It is only in this way that the very strong productive forces and manpower of Poland can produce values, can produce the commodities needed for meeting the population's demands. Life itself emphasizes the truth that a people can only live on its own work, can only avail itself of what it produces, and in order to live better it must work and produce more and create as great a social wealth as possible. This means diligent and assiduous work, the firm strengthening of discipline in production, a high sense of social duty and responsibility.

A role of outstanding importance has to be played in this respect by the trade union organizations that are called upon to ensure the mobilization of the working people to intense creative activity unfolded in a sense of discipline, dedication and orderliness, according to one's own fundamental interests, to the general interests of the country and of the whole people. In order to actually serve the working people's interests, the trade unions must not just make demands, but, first of all, must act steadily for the broad involvement of the masses, of all forces and energies of the people in the activity for the development of production, of the whole national economy, since it is only in step with the growth of the socialist wealth, of the productive forces of the country that the population's consumption demands can be met in good conditions, that a sound and safe basis can be ensured for raising the living standard.

The position is not understandable of some forces within Solidarity that ignore or do not want to heed the elementary truth that the rise in the living standard and the ever better meeting of the working people's demands is not possible without a strong development of production, of the national wealth.

As is well known, our party has repeatedly expressed its firm confidence that the problems that have cropped up in Poland can and must be solved by the Polish people, by the working class, by the PZPR. Naturally, such a settlement necessarily demands the existence of a clear program of action, of a platform comprising and expressing clearly the directions of activity envisioned for breaking the situation of crisis, starting from the supreme interests of the whole nation, of Socialist Poland, and not from requirements of a limited character, from group requirements. Such a program must secure the inclusion and tight unity of all the social forces, the strengthening of their collaboration for solving, with joint effort, the existing problems, for the consistent implementation of the line of socialist renewal, for the development of the country on the road of socialism.

As shown also at the recent Plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the PZPR, the decisive role in solving the present situation and in the entire development of People's Poland is incumbent on the Polish United Workers' Party. There is a justified belief that doing away with difficulties and normalizing the economic and social life are directly linked to the strengthening of the leading political role of the PZPR so that it can act at the head of the masses, providing initiative, firmly and responsibly committing itself to overcoming the present situation, to the development of Socialist Poland.

The communists, the Romanian people nurture the belief that the PZPR, the Polish Communists have the force they need to fulfill this mission. At present, as known, preparations are fully underway for the Ninth--Extraordinary--PZPR Congress, an event meant to strengthen the party's unity, increase its force and to improve its combat capacity. The debates prior to the congress make a most appropriate occasion for intensifying consultations of the masses on all central problems regarding the country's present and future, so that the congress may mark the conclusion of the clarification process in the party and society as regards the way to be followed, may become a starting point for the passing to a practical, nationwide solution to the problems.

As stressed in the documents of the recent plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee, it is only to the extent to which the election as delegates is secured by the best communists, dedicated campaigners for the cause of socialism and communism in Poland, for the fundamental interests of the working class and of the whole Polish people, that the congress will be able to discharge its lofty mission. It is only so that the congress can meet fully the expectations of the people, secure the enhancement of confidence in the party and the union of the masses around the party.

The successful development of the entire activity to resolve the crisis is closely related to the enhancement of the leading role of the working class in society. Depending on the working class are, first of all, the return to normal of industrial and, resulting from this, of the entire national economy, the establishment of a climate of social order. The Polish working class has proved for decades to be permeated by the feeling of responsibility before socialism, to be a class animated by ardent patriotism, deeply attached to Poland's fundamental interests. And, of course, the role of the party of the working class is to secure an optimum organizational framework for the workers to be able to play fully the role of a leading class, to have their say and make their concrete practical contribution to solving the problems confronting the Polish society, participate directly in the management of enterprises of the state.

Our party's own positive experience highlights the importance of creating a wide democratic framework enabling and stimulating the participation of the working class, of the working people in solving the problems of social development. As known, this is precisely the function of the organizational framework of great diversity created in our country--from the councils of the working people in all the economic and social units, the leading councils of the ministries and of other central bodies, to the national congresses and councils--that efficiently round off the activity of the state bodies, making a unitary system of democratic management of all the civic affairs. In light of this experience it becomes obvious how essentially important for the development of society is the creation of conditions for the working masses to participate directly, in an organized, conscious manner, under the leadership of the party, in solving the problems, in the running of enterprises, of the entire society, grounded on a clear, concrete program of action.

Naturally, in view of helping the masses choose the targets and type of action included in such a program, it is highly important to intensify the activity of explaining its content so that the working people, all the citizens of the country may understand clearly, with no misunderstanding, the course to be taken by the process of socialist renewal and what everybody has to do within this process.

Great responsibilities in this respect are incumbent on the press, radio and television and on on the mass media. The press was severely criticised at the recent plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee. "It is quite clear"--Comrade Kania said in his address at the conclusion of the proceedings of the plenary meeting--"that we shall not win the battle for social consciousness, that our program will not enjoy full support if the mass media continue to criticize, if they first of all point to the negative aspects that raise emotions and create a negative attitude before the authorities." It stands to reason that the press, the radio-television, all mass media in Poland must play an active, mobilizing role in overcoming the current situation, act in a high militating spirit for Poland's supreme interests, for the formation and development of a sound public opinion, for the promotion of a strong party-like, truly revolutionary spirit able to secure the country's firm development on the road of socialism. In this respect, it is clearly stressed in the decision endorsed by the Plenary meeting of the CC of the PZPR that "the press, radio and television are duty bound to sincerely inform society, and not just to reflect but also to mould the public opinion, in harmony with the interests of the socialist society and state."

Realities show that most resolute action is necessary for intensifying the entire political-ideological and educational activity in Poland, that of the press included, to the end of developing a climate of constructive action and of enhancing the patriotic conscience and the social responsibility for the country's destiny. The press and the political-ideological activity should make every working man aware of the fact that securing Poland's independent and freedom is closely linked to her socialist development and to the strengthening of her collaboration with all countries and with all peoples that build the new system.

As a socialist country and as an European country, Poland has an important role in the life of the continent and in the international life in general, and it is in the interest of the Polish people, of peace and detente in Europe and in the world to continually maintain this role. Therefore, everything must be done to strengthen the Polish state and its system, and to ensure Poland's steady advance on the road of socialism and peace. The actions of the antisocialist forces in Poland, as well as the actions of various reactionary circles outside the country, which oppose and try to baffle this course, must be firmly rebuffed by the people, by the working class, by all conscious people of the country, strongly rallied around the PZPR. The line of socialist renewal promoted by the PZPR, the process of criticizing and doing away with past shortcomings and mistakes must in no way lead to the weakening of the state and of the party.

On the contrary, it must lead to their continuous strengthening, to the ever stronger increase of the role of the PZPR in the organization and leadership of the entire work of socialist construction, to the increased participation of the working class, of the masses of the people in the government of society, in the conscious building of their own destiny--the socialist and communist destiny.

Certainly, the tasks are not at all easy, but the PZPR, the working class, the Polish people have incontestable forces--possess the political and economic power, the socialist state, as an instrument of the people's power, in order to defend and develop the revolutionary gains.

It is the firm conviction of our party and people that the PZPR has sufficient forces inspired by a revolutionary spirit, aware of the responsibility towards history, which will firmly act to ensure Poland's development on the road of economic and social progress, on the road of socialism and peace. The communists and the Romanian people fully trust in the will and capacity of action of the communists, of the Polish working class to find the adequate solutions for overcoming the present difficulties.

"We consider"--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said at his recent press conference in Vienna--"that the PZPR, The Polish Government and people can overcome on their own the problems facing them, in order to ensure the socialist development, the consolidation of Poland and of her role in the struggle for security and peace in Europe. A strong, independent, socialist Poland can only account for a factor of peace, of security."

In the spirit of the traditional friendship between our peoples, parties and countries, of the sympathy the Polish people enjoy with the Romanian people, the communists, the working people in our country address the most sincere wishes to the PZPR and to the Polish people for the quickest resolution of the present situation and wish wholeheartedly that the forthcoming congress should mark an important moment in the strengthening of the party--on the political, ideological and organizational plane--in the consolidation of the unity of the whole Polish people around the party, so that friendly Poland should successfully advance on the path of socialist civilization, according to the supreme interests of the Polish Nation, of its freedom and dignity, asserting herself ever more strongly as an active factor of socialism, international peace, understanding and collaboration.

ANDREI MEETS WITH AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

AU120911 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0736 GMT 12 Jun 81

[Text] Vienna, 12 Jun (AGERPRES)--During the state visit President Nicolae Ceausescu is paying to Austria, Romanian-Austrian working meetings were held--at ministerial level--in the Austrian capital city.

Stefan Andrei, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, exchanged opinions with his Austrian counterpart on a series of international questions, on the development of cooperation between Romania and Austria in international life, in the spirit of summit understandings.

Ioan Avram, Romanian minister of machine-building industry, and the Austrian minister of trade, commerce and industry, analysed the stage of the fulfillment of the measures regarding the collaboration between Romania and Austria in industry.

Vasile Pungan, minister secretary of state, had an interview at the federal chancellery when aspects were approached of the Romanian-Austrian economic collaboration on third markets and in the field of sea- and river-going transport.

SUNDIC SAYS POLAND NEEDS 'PATIENCE' FROM ALLIES

LD131630 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Jun 81

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] In accepting the letter from the CPSU Central Committee as a well-intentioned and friendly warning, the Polish party and state leadership has at the same time obligated itself to try to undertake the present renewal process on its own in line with the conditions under which that process is developing and in a manner not to the detriment of its obligations as a member of the Warsaw treaty. The Polish leadership could not opt for a different path because there is no better one. Poland has no more urgent a task than that set by the resolution of the 11th extraordinary plenum: The struggle for the fate of socialism and the people, for domestic peace and for the extrication of the country from the grave political and economic crisis in which it has been mired for months.

Poland's allies have no reason to be more impatient and more concerned than the Poles themselves all the more so because the Polish communists and all the progressive forces in the country are aware of the gravity of the problems which must be resolved.

No head of the Polish party or state could handle the crisis more quickly or in a better manner than is being done now. In any case, the least that is at stake is who is or who is not ready to commit himself to this role. More important is how much can be done without calling into question the unity of the party and its reliance on the working class. This is first and foremost what members of the Central Committee had in mind when they decided to give their vote of confidence to Stanislaw Kania and the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, who demanded Kania's resignation.

Poland needs the understanding and patience of its allies, above all that of the Soviet Union, which is manifesting, in fact, the greatest concern about the fate of socialism in Poland. This understanding and patience is needed all the more in view of the fact that the Poles themselves are not concealing the existence of antisocialist and even of anti-Soviet forces in the country and that the Polish communists have demonstrated decisive resolve to fight any such phenomena. Precisely because of this, they should not be reminded day aafter day of all this; such reminders do not lead to anything.

There is no single socialist country in which antisocialist forces are not active. This is more visible in Poland only because of the situation in the country and because of the collected problems which have not been resolved in a timely manner, problems which do not date back to yesterday but go back many years. What Poland faces today are not the causes but the consequences of a policy. The present leadership is not finding it easy to cope with everything it inherited from the previous leadership, but one cannot, as some have done, say that Stanislaw Kania and Wojciech Jaruzelski are not aware of the situation in which the country finds itself and that they do not see a way out ot it. The path which they have chosen, the path of socialist renewal and economic stabilization, the path of settling accounts with the workers and with the people constitutes a catastrophe.

It is certainly not easy for Polish communists when they read what others have written and said about them. In particular they cannot find it easy when there are doubts about their ability to resolve alone, in their own way, their internal problems. They have not taken amiss the CPSU Central Committee's letter but it would certainly have been easier had there been no letter. However, as Polish communists have not disputed the right of the CPSU Central Committee to send the letter, they deserve the trust of that body. Should they not have this trust, the situation in Poland could become even more complicated than it already is.

TANJUG VIEWS POLAND'S PRECONGRESS SITUATION

LD151030 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1823 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Jun (TANJUG)--Polish communists and Poland as a whole have, as is noted here, entered the "decisive" closing stage of preparations for the special Polish United Workers' Party Congress scheduled for July 14. So far, slightly less than the total of 600 delegates to the special congress have been elected at city, municipal and voivodship electoral conferences. Party First Secretary Kania is among them.

In its assessment of the hitherto course of preparations for the special party congress, the Polish PAP news agency today states that "far-reaching changes" in party leaderships "at all levels" are underway, "the higher the level, the larger number of new people have been elected", the Polish news agency adds. "The congress must be successful" and "it must pass decisions whose implementation will serve the party's and the country's successful overcoming of the crisis", PAP states.

Contrary assessments are, however, also in evidence. Observers point to Politbureau member Tadeusz Grabski's statement on ideological wavering within the party over whether should be "Marxist-Leninist', socialist, Christian democratic or social-democratic". According to Grabski, the top-ranking PUWP official who at the recent party plenum asked for Kania's removal from office, "the period preceding and during the congress" must be used to "determine the party's nature and essence".

Grabski insists on two points as the most important now. Firstly, the "strengthening of the state" in view of recent "considerable disturbances" in its functioning. Secondly, the "consolidating of Poland's position in the family of socialist states" and Poland as a "strong link of the bloc."

The Soviet party Central Committee letter to the Polish party Central Committee, itself, is related to the above as Grabski, himself, had noted at the electoral conference of his basic party organization in the town of Leszno.

Half of basic party organization secretaries, as reported, have been changed so far as have also 40 percent of the members basic party organization executive organs. In highest regional, municipal and city organizations, 75 percent of the cadres have been changed.

OFFICIAL EXPRESSES CONFIDENCE IN POLISH AUTHORITIES

LD142234 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2000 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jun (TANJUG)--Speaking to the representatives of Yugoslav workers temporarily employed abroad who will take part in the third congress of Yugoslav self-managers, Presidency member of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance Federal Conference Aleksandar Bakoccevic noted the (?great) apprehension, particularly in certain countries of the so-called socialist community, over possible consequences of the development of events in Poland.

Yugoslavia continues its conviction that Poland's socialist forces can resolve the complex situation and in seeking their specific road of socialist development preserve its socialist course, Bakoccevic said.

Speaking about the increasingly frequent hostile activities against Yugoslavia, Bakoccevic underlined that Yugoslavia had already taken the necessary steps with the respective countries, particularly the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland and France, for their prevention. In some Western countries, we stressed, which are aware of emigres' hostile designs towards Yugoslavia, the authorities have pledged more rigorous action against anti-Yugoslav incidents.

ASSEMBLY DELEGATES DISCUSS KOSOVO SITUATION

LD131624 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1005 GMT 13 Jun 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 13 Jun (TANJUG)--The political-security situation in Kosovo and the measures being taken to normalize the situation in the provice were the center of attention for delegates to the federal chamber of the SFRY Assembly, which discussed this question last Tuesday. After the introductory report presented by Franjo Herljevic, federal secretary for internal affairs, a large number of delegates asked to speak. Today we publish some of these statements.

Speaking about the measures taken to stabilize the political-security situation in Kosovo as early as possible, Fasli Kajtazi stressed that it had been agreed in the province not to have any polemics now on all that had taken place because there was no time to do so. "We must strive the most to prevent the hostile elements and great-Albanian nationalism, which are the greatest misfortunes of the Albanian people itself, from reemerging," Kajtazi said, adding that the greatest burden of this struggle had to be borne by the forces in Kosovo, aided and supported by all the other factors and subjective forces of the whole country.

"The Albanian people in Kosovo have not betrayed the revolution and its achievements," Kajtazi emphasized. "They have no reason for doing so. In this country, they have for the first time experienced national liberation and revival."

Emphasizing that the struggle against the enemy must be sharp and uncompromising, Kajtazi warned that caution and moderation should be exercised when assessing the events because any one-sidedness or generalizations could only increase the difficulties and nervousness among those who day and night and with full responsibility worked for political differentiation and the uncovering of the protagonists and organizers of these events.

"The effects of our actions will be greater and more powerful if our political activity is permeated with the idea that the enemy is always--and on this occasion too--dangerous for all of us, regardless of where it appears. Only thus," Kajtazi emphasized, "will our struggle be successful and also supported by those who have been deceived or misled. In this way, we narrow the room for hostile and other forces and their activities and increase the fighting power of our actions, which are being increasingly supported in all environments, especially among the workers in associated labor, peasants, the overwhelming majority of the intelligentsia and other social strata."

Ilija Topaloski said that the Albanian leadership has not changed its negative attitude toward Yugoslavia since 1948 when it fully identified itself with the Stalinist campaign against Yugoslavia, nor has it corrected its nationalist policy based on the aspirations and territorial pretensions toward Kosovo, parts of Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia, where there are people of Albanian nationality. Illustrating this situation, Topaloski mentioned that in 1968, after the events in Czechoslovakia, one of the most responsible persons in Albania called our ambassador and told him that Albania could not be indifferent toward the occupation of Yugoslavia and especially the parts inhabitated by Albanians, which already then represented a crude confirmation of the territorial pretensions toward our country.

"We considered all negative data on the activities of official Albania in Kosovo and toward Kosovo within the framework of our sincere desire and good will for the development of good-neighborly relations. The Albanian leadership applied criteria opposed to ours and this led to the present situations."

Speaking about Fadilj Hodza's speech to the Kosovo political aktiv after the outbreak of the demonstrations, Topaloski said that this speech deeply impressed him because Fadilj Hodza did not speak only as a tested leader of Kosovo but also as a statesman of Yugoslavia.

Nijaz Dizdarevic noted that it is interesting that in this entire "flood" of articles from Albania, in this sea of anti-Yugoslav propaganda, no attempt has been made to prove that Yugoslavia in any way interferes in the internal affairs of Albania. On the contrary, all this propaganda is full of indirect and direct interference by Albania and attacks on all our achievements, Dizdarevic said among other things. We have not even presented some basic demands within the framework of our state relations, such as the question of the rights of our national minorities. We have no statistics, as the Greeks have, on how many members of the Macedonian or Montenegrin minorities are in Albanian prisons and how many are exposed to pressures and assimilation.

The Albanian policy, which supports counterrevolutionary nationalism, is objectively opposed to the interests of Albania itself if it wants to be independent and socialist.... It offers cover to anyone who is interested in dividing and alienating the Balkan peoples. It offers the possibility to any hegemonist state to interfere in Balkan affairs and involve the Balkans in confrontations. No Balkan people can like the presence of non-Balkan factors and the widening of the gap between neighbors. We would like the Balkans to be a zone of peace and we firmly believe that this is in the interest of all peoples and that this is the historic responsibility of their governments.

Emphasizing that "we have neglected the fact that foreign policy is not only diplomacy but also the unity of all factors--ideological, informative, cultural, economic, security, diplomatic and scientific-technical--which can especially be seen in assessing the Albanian policy and our behavior," Dizdarevic urged a united Yugoslav policy and the need for further study of deeper and more long-term consequences of Albania's behavior, not only in its relations with Yugoslavia but also in the region and further afield, as well as the adoption of corresponding measures on the domestic and foreign scene in good time.

LCY'S CULAFIC STRESSES MEDIA'S ROLE IN KOSOVO

AU131631 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 81 p 9

["Text" of speech by Dobroslav Culafic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the session of the Commission for Information and Propaganda Activity of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in Belgrade on 28 May]

[Excerpts] During the past 3 months, we have gained valuable experiences and have learned valuable lessons in the country's political life in general. as well as very many valuable experiences and lessons in the field of public information. It is very important and useful that these experiences and lessons gained and learned in the field of information in Yugoslavia are now being discussed primarily at the sessions of the organs of the League of Communists and the Socialist Alliance at all levels--ranging from the local community to the federal level, and it is very important and useful that the public information media write and speak about this problem.

Situation in Kosovo Still Very Complex

The discussion that was held was also very important because the situation in Kosovo is still very complex and because all of us together--the League of Communists and other subjective socialist forces, and accordingly also the public information media--will have in this respect very great obligations and responsibilities in the future. One of the most important lessons, or rather more of a warning, in connection with the developments in Kosovo is that we must not withhold from our public, from our working people. full, timely and objective information on all developments in the country, irrespective of what the situation may be. We have never done this, and we have had many complex, difficult situations in the past. and it is not necessary that we do it now or in the future. What is involved is not merely the request to satisfy political interest, the working people's political curiosity.

Halt in the Flow of Information Served Irredentists

A shortage of information, or rather preventing or restricting the public from being informed in time about all vital trends, phenomena and tendencies in our society, is contrary to the essential demands of the socialist self-management and social relations that we are building in our country. This has also been the case in Kosovo. Preventing and restricting free circulation of information, both before those developments and during the developments themselves, only served the interests of the nationalistic and irredentist forces in Kosovo. The other side of the same problem is to isolate information within the frameworks of republics or provinces, or even within some narrower circles.

The developments in Kosovo have convincingly demonstrated once more how dangerous that can be and how incompatible it is with our political system of socialist self-management and how it can serve the individuals and forces who objectively want isolation and weakening of unity and, accordingly, isolation and weakening of unity in so important a field as public information.

We must bear in mind that what is involved in Kosovo are not the occurrences that can be resolved overnight, or by a single, albeit well-organized action. In fact, what is involved is the need to wage a long-term activity against great-Albanian nationalism and irredentism so as to remove the causes of the developments and situation in Kosovo. The basis for this activity and for our overall information activity in connection with Kosovo is and must be a long-term positive program of Kosovo's social and economic development in the next few years, and work on it is just now being carried out in Kosovo and the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Certain state and political organs of the federation are also engaged in the work.

The Public Must Be Informed About the Enemy's Activity

The public information media must help in implementing the action program which has recently been adopted by the provincial committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo and must ensure that the action program is realized as consistently and as rapidly as possible. The public media must report openly on the course of the struggle of the League of Communists of Kosovo in overcoming the existing situation. In doing it, they must inform the Yugoslav people about the activities and forms of activities of the enemy in Kosovo.

Public Media Have No Other Policy Than the One Pursued by the LCY

In the overall information activity, particularly in the public information media, it is basic that all public media continue to encourage the progressive forces, to help the progressive forces in Kosovo, to constantly side with the socialsit self-managing forces in Kosovo and in Yugoslavia, not to dwell on details, on what is not vital and important to successfully wage the overall ideological and political activity in Kosovo.

Our public media must continue to wage a resolute struggle against any stirring up of hatred among nationalities, including a hatred against the Albanian nationality in Kosovo. Our information media--we must strongly stress this--must also wage a struggle against spreading a lack of confidence among the peoples and nationalities in socialist Yugoslavia, not solely in Kosovo, but in all regions of Yugoslavia. Our public information media are now facing very complex tasks of waging a struggle against introducing vacillation and doubt in the progressive forces in Kosovo and Yugoslavia to resolutely prevent the hostile activity in Kosovo. In this respect, we must be quite clear. The public information media have no other policy than the one pursued by the LCY.

Now it is very important that all public information media follow and inform the public about ideological, political and any other social activity and action waged by the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance and all other organized socialist forces in Kosovo so that they follow and inform the public about the results of that action, though for the time being the results may be merely preliminary.

These results are very significant in the process of struggle to consolidate the situation in Kosovo and they must not be underrated, just as one should not foster the illusion that everything has been resolved with what has been achieved thus far.

Now when we have identified the enemy forces, when we have made the corresponding appraisals, when we have agreed with the appraisals, support for the action and struggle of the League of Communists and other socialist forces in Kosovo is a task of first-class importance, a task that our public media also face.

The public media are significantly contributing and have significantly contributed in the past to the political action of the League of Communists of Kosovo, the League of Communists of Serbia and the LCY. Nonetheless, I believe that we must try resolutely and in an organized manner to oppose the tendencies and occurrences of sensationalism in certain information media when reporting on the developments in Kosovo.

There have already been such occurrences, and it would be very dangerous if they were to continue to any extent or in any form in reporting on Kosovo. This is now all the more dangerous because the League of Communists of Kosovo is fully active in overcoming the difficulties that have befallen the League of Communists, the workers class and the working people of that province. We must find a limit to the volume of material published about Kosovo. We must also avoid one-sidedness in reporting on Kosovo because every one-sidedness in the public information media can divert us from the main direction of the ideological and political struggle, and this main direction of ideological and political action is the struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism and of nationalisms of all hues, irrespective of where they may appear.

The League of Communists must extend its support to public media. It has never been more necessary to maintain constant links and contacts between the organs and organizations of the League of Communists and communists and other working people in the editorial offices of the public information media. The more we strive and desire to ensure the independence of the public information media, the more the need increases for constant cooperation with the organs and organizations that can extend assistance in this respect. The organs and organizations of the Socialist Alliance, the League of Communists, the editorial offices, all must be activated and involved so that the public information media can as successfully as possible carry out its obligations in the present complex condtions, just as in the many that preceded them.

Understandably, public media are also subject to criticism. Public media are not immune to mistakes or criticism. However, we must always know what we criticize. We should criticize certain articles and certain editorial offices for an article, or for the overall editorial policy pursued by the editorial office. But we should not criticize public media as a whole, and it is particularly dangerous if such criticism if leveled at the "central," at the "Belgrade," at the "Serbian" press. That objectively associates and encourages confrontations among nationalities. It is evern more dangerous if the discussion in connection with an article or several articles, the discussion on a newspaper, distracts attention from the main directions of activity and if attention is concentrated in that, and not on the ideopolitical struggle on main directions, the main lines of our activity in Kosovo.

KOSOVO MUNICIPAL PARTY MEETING RESULTS NOTED

LD142204 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2004 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Text] Pristina, 14 Jun (TANJUG)--There is no local community, village or working collective in the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo in which the aspirations are not marked for eradicating the hostile activity of Albanian nationalists and irredentists and stabilizing the political situation and the living and working atmosphere.

The conclusions of the municipal conferences of the League of Communists held province-wide which ended today confirm the above, reporters note in their dispatches from Kosov.

It is the general assessment, however, that the process of differentiation continues to unfold slowly and to encounter resistance in the environments in which nationalism and irredentism were most deeply entrenched.

Press reports stress the openness and frankness in dealing with problems. It is also reported, however, that criticism and self-criticism in some municipalities are being "dosed" in equal proportion in which they are in evidence at the "provincial top." Since the serious events in Kosovo, several provincial officials have resigned. This can doubtlessly be interpreted as self-criticism and a sense of responsibility.

It is pointed out, however, that it will be necessary to seek answers to many questions rightly posed since the enemy's brutal assault on the achievements of Yugoslavia's revolution and its integrity and independence.

ASSEMBLY CHAMBER DEBATES ECONOMIC TRENDS

LD102106 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1132 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 10 Jun (TANJUG)--The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the Assembly of Yugoslavia today began a debate on economic trends in the first months of 1981. The introductory report at the debate, which will continue during this and next month, was the report by Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, on the implementation of the policy of socioeconomic development in 1981 and on the possibilities of development in 1982.

The expected broad debate on economic trends did not materialize. Apart from four speeches in today's debate, the delegates chose to take part in debates by working bodies and at the two sessions to be held in July. The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces is holding a continuous debate on economic affairs in the working bodies and it will also hold two chamber sessions, one on 2 July and the other on 16 July.

Today's report by Veselin Djuranovic contains many new ideas which will arouse delegates' attention and enable a constructive and fruitful debate on economic trends during the months of June and July.

Asim Kerim (Macedonia) was the first to speak in the debate which followed the report by the president of the Federal Executive Council, Veselin Djuranovic. After emphasizing that at present we are not short of resolutions, laws, agreements and self-managing agreements for the implementation of the set aims and tasks of the economic policy, Kerim stressed that what is needed to achieve the implementation of resolutions and long-term planning tasks is better organization.

Augustin Papic (Bosnia-Hercegovina) supported the determination expressed in the report by the president of the Federal Executive Council to prepare a balance sheet of basic products and goods needed for production and market supplies. He added that the difficulties are due to the lack of such balance sheets. Papic also pointed out that the economic relations with foreign countries and the functioning of the system itself essentially depend on our competitiveness and efficacy on the world market. There are many elements which point to a very worrisome situation in this respect. Moreover, it has been noted that productivity in 13 industrial branches, some of which are very important as regards exports, is below average and that productivity in some branches is in fact falling. In some important export branches, such as hides, footwear and shipbuilding, there is concern about the great inefficacy in the use of social resources, the unfavorable coefficient of economic activity, low productivity, ineffective investment and so forth.

These problems are long-term, require essential changes in economic relations with foreign countries and have not yet been initiated. Papic considered that encouraging exports represents a palliative measure.

Much is being said about the so-called "propping" of foreign exchange and the undermining of the dinar's exchange rate. In law, this is a criminal act, yet some organizations publicly admit that they are raising their prices because they are paying foreign currency at a higher rate of exchange than the official one. This has become a mass phenomenon, but it should not happen. It will be difficult to solve it by criminal measures alone. There is an impression, Papic added, that a special form of "propping" also applies to construction materials, when third- or fourth-grade materials are being sold as first or second grade; when the supply of certain goods in short supply is conditioned by various factors; when associating of resources is demanded for every ton of a certain product and so forth. "Propping" is a phenomenon which applies to all goods in short supply and even to goods which are not such--but where there is a monopoly.

Dr Ljubica Teslic-Nadlacki spoke about monetary-credit policy and its coordination with overall economic trends. She called for a special debate on the subject.

Ljubo Babic (Bosnia-Hercegovina) asked the Federal Executive Council to explain what had been done in sociopolitical organizations and communities to return prices to their level of December 1980, in accordance with the criteria determined by the law on prices.

I attach special importance to this, Babic said, and I think that our debate cannot end without a precise answer to this question and without informing the public of what has been done to implement this decision.

Babic also asked the Federal Executive Council what its assessment of the rate of inflation until the end of the year was and demanded a substantive explanation of why inflation has been so rapid.

At the end of the short debate on economic trends, the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces decided that the working bodies should consider the report of the Federal Executive Council on economic trends in 1981 during June, and that the chamber itself should discuss it at its 2 July session.

Djuranovic Report

LD112313 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0910 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Report on Federal Executive Council President Veselin Djuranovic's 10 June report to Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia]

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jun (TANJUG)--Economic developments and results in the first 5 months of 1981 confirm the assessments made at the time the Yugoslav social plan for the period 1981-85 and the resolution on socioeconomic development this year were adopted; that is, that the tasks and objectives that had been set would be carried out under very difficult economic conditions, and that exceptional efforts will be required to implement the agreed policy fully, said Djuranovic. Both 1981 and 1980 confirm the gravity of the struggle to implement the policy of economic stabilization, when this policy begins to be consistently implemented. [as received]

What is at stake is a crucial moment in the struggle for economic stabilization when there has been a turnabout on the key points of the stabilization policy with the resolute orientation to stop and to begin to reduce radically our country's balance of payments deficit; to arrest the growth of indebtedness and to begin to reduce the level of our country's indebtedness to foreign countries; to slow down the growth of all aspects of expenditure and to better coordinate our living and social standards with the results of the work of our society as a whole and with the results of the work of every individual; to coordinate the dynamics of economic growth with realistic material possibilities and essentially to strengthen the qualitative factors of economic operations; to overcome our economic isolation from the criteria of economic activity established on the world markets and to strengthen the conditions for a broader and fuller impact of economic laws in the struggle for bigger income and for more efficient and profitable overall economic activity. All this should contribute more decisively to the consolidation of the sociomaterial basis of associated labor, and in so doing, also to the consolidation of self-management relations and to the establishment of the conditions for a considerable fall in the rate of inflation and coordination of price increases in keeping with stabilization policy.

The consequences and the accompaying difficulties of this turnabout are all the greater and more serious because until the current period we held an opposite orientation both with regard to material relations and developments and with regard to social conduct [words indistinct]. We decided for a radical change of the situation because as we for a long time put off the confrontation with the essential problems of our development and giving an unequivocal answer to the question of how to overcome the causes of economic instability, the material contradictions increased and became more aggravated, deepening in this way both the reasons for economic disruptions and the problems of socioeconomic development.

The weight of the turnabout [words indistinct] the fact that we chose, during the 2-year period 1980-81, to reduce our country's balance of payments deficit by over 50 percent; that is, by almost $(?2) billion, and to do so under conditions in which our development is exceptionally dependent on imports, imports of raw materials, reproduction materials and technology for the high investment cycle which is underway.

At the same time that this turnabout is occurring, in the sphere of economic relations with foreign countries, because of the unsatisfactory ratio between import and export (?prices) [word indistinct] the complexity and the acuteness of the problems which make this transition difficult are shown particularly in the general area of investment expenditure--its size, its share in the social product, its structure, its financing sources, the capital coefficient of its investments and their efficiency. It suffices to recall the fact that the share of investments into fixed assets and working capital in the social product of the country has been 40 percent for quite a few years now. The estimated value of the investments on 31 March 1981 amounted to 1.32 billion dinars, which was only four percent less than the value of the social production of the country's socially-owned economy in 1980. The situation in the republics and provinces differs, but its acuteness testifies to the seriousness of this situation.

[Passage indistinct] The social product of the socially-owned economy was 37 percent lower in Slovenia, 23 percent lower in Croatia, 6 percent lower in Bosnia and Hercegovina, 7 percent lower in Vojvodina; 13 percent higher in Macedonia, 17 percent higher in Serbia without the social autononous provinces, 111 percent higher in Montenegro and 177 percent higher in Kosovo. There are reasons for these differences but what I want to show here is the farcity of the problem observed Djuranovic.

The assessment of this situation is complemented by data on the structure of the sources from which the money for this great volume of investments is secured. What happens is that the share of the investors' own resources in the total resources is a mere 28 percent, out of which only 8.2 percent has actually been set aside, while the remaining 19.8 percent is calculated against future accumulation. The share of associated resources is 7.3 percent, the resources of the funds for the economically inadequately development areas about 5.8 percent and the share of credits is 53.6 percent. (Other sources account for 5.3 percent).

The seriousness of the problem and the difficulties regarding a way out of this situation are confirmed by the information that over 50 percent of the overall value of current investment is for 343 major investment projects out of a total of over 26.000 investment projects. These are projects where construction work extends over a long period of time and where the effects of investments are rather slow in coming.

If the fact is added that reported overexpediture alone reached the value of 455 billion dinars, and it is bound to be higher then one can realize the true gravity and complexity of the situation in the investment sector and all the seriousness of the burden of investments in the present period when efforts are being made to implement the policy of economic stabilization.

The question is rightly asked: Why aren't things in the investment expediture sector changed more quickly? Who decides about these high investments? Who bears the responsibility for this sort of situation? How can a higher level of economic stabilization be obtained when this kind of situation in the area of investments is one of the biggest focal points of economic instability?

It is undeniable, however, that in this sector we go on behaving as if we did not live in a time of considerable economic disruption and instability, which makes the objectives of economic stabilization inpossible to achieve and which at the present juncture also seriously enhances elements of political instability. Autarchy in economic development; megalonmaniac appetites in investment expenditure and a crucial role of technobureaucratic elements in deciding about the investment factors; an irresponsible attitude toward the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization; and the present most important joint interest of the country, expressed precisely through the demands inherent in the policy of economic stabilization, are the main reasons for this state of affairs and deepening economic instability. This is confirmed by the delays in the implementation of the system of self-management social planning, explicit territorial accumulation and meager results in pooling labor and resources, Djuranovic said [passage indistinct] for the first quarter of this year suggest again a reduction in the share of the economy in the use of the income because the growth of general and particularly of joint expenditure is higher than anticipated.

Within the framework of general expenditure, budget expenditure of the federation constitutes a special problem because of its large size, inflexible structure and constant pressure on new fiscal requirements. The seriousness of this problem is aggravated by the effort to eliminate money issue resources to cover the deficit of the federal budget.

The problems of the struggle for economic stabilization will be less sharp and will not give rise to political reaction only if at all levels, in all basic and other organizations of associated labor, self-management interests and sociopolitical communities, coupled with full involvement of conscious socialist forces, we assume a responsible and active attitude toward the tasks in the implementation of economic stabilization and if we not only express our readiness but readily carry the burden of this struggle which must be borne by everyone, but not by everyone in equal proportion, stressed the president of the Federal Executive Council. During the same period, significant changes were made in the decisionmaking process in the federation, in the implementation of the constitutional role in the resposibility of the republics and provinces in SFRY, both as a multinational federal state and as a social democratic community, and in their reciprocal relations.

The awareness of the responsibility for one's own development has grown considerably. This is of strategic significance for overall relations and for the solution of the problems in our society. However, the responsibility of the republics and provinces for their own development, in keeping with their constitutional rights, is only one side of their constitutional position. An inseparable element of the totality of their relations is their direct responsibility for the development of the SFRY as a whole. It is precisely this element that must come to the fore more fully and to a far greater extent. Without it there is no genuine new togetherness based on socialist self-management and national equality. Without a doubt this has an essential influence both on difficulties in decisonmaking and even more on the implementation of the decisions that have been taken, stressed Djuranovic.

These relations and this situation must be analyzed more thoroughly because neogitations between the republics and provinces on economic policy measures are visibly at odds with the requirements imposed by the present economic situation. While the situation calls for efficient adoption of economic policy measures as well as of measures which should secure implementation of jointly established development priorities, republican and pronvincial negotiations last long and do not make efficient activity possible.

It is necessary to assess more fully the extent to which specific solutions stemming from basic laws contributed to this, but it is undeniable that this is one of the reasons. Take, for example, the tendency of republics and provinces to change the balance of payments positions into their payments and foreign currency balance sheets. Or the division of responsibilities with regard to decisionmaking on prices, whereby 56 percent of the prices of industrial products fall within the competence of the republics and provinces, while it is the Yugoslav market as a whole which constitutes the framework for the sale of these goods.

In conditions of economic disruptions and instability, the need for coordinate and agreed activity by everyone involved in decisonmaking and implementation is of exceptional importance. Full agreement on assessing the situation, identifying the reasons and adopting the measures must be ensured in this way, and the same applies to unity and consistency in implementing the agreed policy.

In this respect, considerable shortcomings and serious problems have emerged precisely during the past period. Under these conditions, the responsibility for the application of legislation is impaired, and manifestations of (?frequent) violation of laws and various forms of illegal economic activity appear. This includes manifestations of the establishment of monopoly profit and elements or cartelization of prices through would-be self-management agreements.

Particular attention must be given to tendencies to consolidate republican and provincial etatism, its emergence on behalf of associated labor, and to tendencies to pretend that specific self-management institutions are semistate or allegedly self-management institutions, which is a specific characteristic of some self-managing interest communities.

There is contradiction not only along the line of associated labor-centralisitc etatism, but along the line of associated labor-etatism, regardless of whether it is centralized or decentralized. The particular danger of decentralized etatism is in its objectively seeking greater opportunity to adapt itself and to establish direct collusion with technocratic factors which, unfortunately, has been powerfully confirmed in investment decisionmaking.

Changes must be carried out that will contribute to more efficient negotiations between the republics and provinces. We propose that as the basis for solving this problem, we proceed from the position that the participants in the agreement-seeking and negotiating process be given a suitable deadline by which to reach agreement [words indistinct] in the interest of efficient solution of current long-term problems [word indistinct] constitutional powers and pass appropriate acts in keeping with the law. This means more and more specific commitments, not only for those proposing the basis for the agrement, but also for the participants in negotiations. On this basis, it is possible to establish a realistic deadline for democratic procedure on every measure which should precede the agreement or the accord. This procedure, in our view, is not only in keeping with the system of relations in federalism but an indispensable condition to avoid delays, which have increasingly serious consequences. In so doing, one must resist manifestations (?of) agreeing to one measure in return for obtaining agreement on another, in the opinion of the president of the Federal Executive Council.

These is no need to stress the basic orientation that administrative measures alone cannot successfully resolve the policy of economic stabilization. However, this does not depend on the good will of one or another federal organ or on the Federal Executive Council itself, but on the sum total of social relations, on the totality of conduct and responsibility of each individual self-management social element, on the role of conscious socialist forces, on their action within associated labor and within the delegate system. It is undeniable that to exceed the ceiling of the balance of payments position is contrary to the policy of economic stabilization and an expression of an inappropriate attitude toward common interest. It is, therefore, a source of conflicts with other republics and provinces, just as deviation from the agreed price policy is an expression of an irresponsible attitude toward the economic stabilization policy and a motive for possible political disagreements with other participants in the agreement. All these relations, practices and conduct cannot be broken with administrative measures. Of course this does not diminish the immediate role and responsibility of executive and administrative organs, their ability, the significance of their proposals and positions and their consistency.

The most important, complex and severe problems in the realization of socioeconomic development in 1981 relate to maintaing the growth of industrial and agricultural production, and in this connection, achieving exports and suitable imports of raw materials and reproduction material, achieving the established balance of payments for the country and, in this context, the maintenance of the balance of payments at the establishment level and a reduction in the rate of inflation, and, finally, the maintenance of the established policy of slower growth in all aspects of consumption in the framework provided by the resolution.

On the issue of achieving the rate of industrial production envisaged in 1981, one should emphasize the deep and intimate interdependence of the dynamics of industrial production, the fulfillment of export tasks and the ensuring of supplies of production of raw materials and reproduction materials. In view of the high level of dependence of industrial production on the import of raw materials and reproduction materials, achieving these imports is most directly connected with the planned growth of industrial production and exports. The growth of industrial production in the first 5 months of the year confirms such a link between production and exports, and the import of raw materials and reproduction material. After a fall in industrial production, exports and imports in the first few months of this year, these has now been a revival of industrial production. The growth rate for the first 5 months is 3.8 percent (for, according to first estimates, the growth rate of industrial production in May was 5.9 percent). This is the result of better supplies of raw materials and reproduction material and of increased exports.

In this connection, the greatest concern is caused by the considerable disappointment of exports to the convertible area and the difficulties of achieving this by the end of the year. This is the most difficult problem at the moment because it threatens the possibility of supplies of raw materials and reproduction materials, as well as the achievement of the planned industrial production growth and finally, the earning of sufficient foreign currency income to ensure that the balance of payments deficit is at the agreed level.

The Federal Executive Council has established that the trends in imports and exports up to now are such that it is necessary to take the following measures without delay:

First, exports should be stimulated as much as possible in the coming months of this year. In this respect, the necessary material stimulus needs to be ensured.

Second, measures to limit imports must certainly be adopted, for without them, even despite efforts to increase foreign currency income, it will not be possible to maintain the level of the balance of payments deficit; it would increase considerably.

On this, the Federal Executive Council considers it necessary to try firmly not to change the established levels of the balance of payments deficit and of financial credits. In this respect, there is no vacillation, nor should there be.

Also closely connected with this is the question of the growth of industrial production. That is, under current conditions of dependence on imports of raw materials and reproduction materials, any orientation toward a more dynamic industrial production growth than that planned, which would allegedly create the conditions for greater exports, could only be realized by means of a continued increase in the balance of payments deficit, and this in practice means a continued increase in indebtedness in relation to other countries. The Federal Executive Council holds the view that such an orientation is not to be considered, for one cannot in any way deviate from the aim we have established of reducing the balance of payments deficit and the country's level of indebtedness to other countries.

The Federal Executive Council has decided to take effective steps toward adopting individual measures which should have been adopted on the basis of the agreement between the republics and provinces or by means of self-management agreements, but which, because of lack of agreement, have not yet been adopted. Moreover, some supplementary measures are being proposed to increase foreign currency income and coordinate the outflow of foreign currency with the possibilities of the balance of payments. These proposed measures are contained in material which has been presented to you and I shall not refer to them specifically.

All the proposed measures are aimed a.:

Increasing production for exports and ensuring better supplies for production of raw materials and reproduction materials;

Ensuring credit resources for the export of equipment and ships by adopting a special legal regulation, since because of a lack of agreement, continued export business has been prevented;

Increasing stimulus to exports to the area of industrially developed countries and developing countries;

Increasing stimulus to exports to the area of industrially developed countries and developing countries;

Increasing noncommodity foreign currency income based on tourism, transport and so forth, including measures to expand the foreign exchange service and increase its effectiveness;

Further saving in the consumption of oil and derivatives which are imported from the convertible region;

Limiting the import of equipment;

Selective treatment in the import of essential goods and priority materials for reproduction, primarily those intended for production for export;

Saving foreign currency according to all the bases of outflow, especially in the sector of noncommodity foreign currency outflow.

In the context of these measures, and on the basis of the assessment about the considerable disturbances in the realization of aims and tasks relating to joint foreign currency policy, the Federal Executive Council has also decided to make use of the provisions of the law on foreign currency business and credit relations with other countries with a view to taking measures to limit payments for imports from the convertible area.

Djuranovic then spoke about the situation in the market.

Price trends in the first 5 months of the year deviated from what was planned. It is true that in March and April there was a certain calming down. However, in May, this tendency did not continue. If the rate of price increases in May, 3.4 percent, is maintained over the next 7 months, inflation, as measured by the growth in retail prices in December 1981 compared to December 1980, would be about 25 percent more than last year. It is quite clear that all the necessary measures must be taken to considerably reduce the current rate of price increases.

On this, the most important measures are of a long-term character, such as the orientation presented in the social plan for the coming period, and they should be set out in more detail. The measures which should be borne in mind first of all are: the maintenance of the planned growth in industrial and agricultural production and an increase in supply; the creation of a supply system and a system to ensure financial resources for these supplies; a slowing of the growth of all aspects of consumption, which means reducing demand; and the elimination of the causes which currently more essentially spoil the unity of the Yugoslav market.

A special issue is the growth of personal income and its impact on price increases. The tendency for real personal income to fall has also continued this year (although it is somewhat less pronounced after the first 3 months). It seems essential that, along with measures to show the growth of prices, we also need to decide with much care and responsibility on the growth of personal income, where differentiations must be made, while stimulating the results of work in production and slowing the growth of personal incomes in noneconomic activities and in groupings which are exceptionally favorably treated in business activity.

Nevertheless, in view of the already large deviations from the agreed policy on prices and the disturbances which have arisen because of the high inflation rate, the Federal Executive Council considers that, in accordance with the law on the system and the social control of prices, suitable measures of direct control should be taken (?to check) the prices of the majority of goods or of all goods and services. This would create the necessary conditions to slow the dynamics of price rises, to strengthen consistency in applying criteria to establish prices on which special instructions are issued and to prevent continued disturbances in primary distribution relations. The application of these measures does not mean any kind of freezing of prices, as the essence of this measure is interpreted in some public [words indistinct]. Assessing it realistically, in the context of the rate of price rises in the next 7 months of a further 10 to 12 percent, which is in the framework of the agreed policy on prices, there is enough room for the relevant economically justified and (?inevitable) price rises.

Our economy, Djuranovic went on, functioned in 1980 and 1981 in difficult conditions compared with the past, in view of the high balance of payments deficit, which became a limiting factor on development. Since we have oriented ourselves in the period up to 1985 toward unhesitatingly reducing the balance of payments deficit and bringing it within tolerable limits, we must count on working in difficult conditions next year, too. At the same time, it must be clear that there is no possibility for further escalation of deficit financing of investments. [passage indistinct]

Proceeding from this standpoint and defining these orientations in a unified way, the basic tasks up to the end of 1981 and (?1982) should be:

To achieve the industrial and agricultural production growth rate envisaged in the social plan;

To bring the calming down of inflationary pressures and the creation of conditions for price rises closer and closer to the tasks of political stabilization;

To increase exports and foreign currency income as a whole in order to achieve the growth rate envisaged in the plan, and to reduce the balance of payments deficit in comparison with this year;

To continue strengthening the qualitative factors of economic activity, especially increasing labor productivity and effectiveness of investments in order to put an end to tendencies for real personal incomes to fall and to increase the competitiveness of our products;

To ensure a consistent policy of income distribution in favor of the continued strengthening of already manifested tendencies toward a growth in the economic role in income as a while and in an increase in the economy's cumulative capability, which should be achieved by slowing the growth in appropriations for general and joint consumption and by a slower growth in personal incomes from social productivity;

To continue the policy of slower growth in general and joint consumption in relation to the growth of the social product and to consistently coordinate investment consumption with orientation in the social plan;

To halt the fall and achieve a certain level of growth in real personal incomes of employees while stimulating growth in real personal incomes in production, with a view to increasing efforts aimed at the consistent application of the principle of distribution according to work results.

The successful achievement of these aims and tasks should enable the policy of the standard of living to be carried out in accordance with orientations toward its gradual [word indistinct], closely linked, of course, with work results and labor productivity.

It is a question, then, of the aims of economic policy in 1982, the realization of which will be possible--again this must be emphasized--only if economic trends envisaged this year are realized, and next year [word indistinct] tendencies toward a revival of economic activity and exports, and a slower growth in prices. Hence, the first task and obligation is strong support for exports and the calming down of price rises in 1981. Only under these conditions are there realistic prospects both for the realization of the aims of economic policy for 1981 along the lines of stabilization and the strengthening of positive tendencies in the stabilization of the economy in 1982.

BRIEFS

SOVIET HEALTH DELEGATION--Belgrade 14 Jun (TANJUG)--A Soviet delegation of health workers, led by Anatoliy Romanenko, Ukrainian SSR minister of health, has arrived in Belgrade. A protocol on cooperation between the two countries in the field of health during the next 5 years is expected to be signed during the delegation's visit. The delegation will hold talks in the Federal Committee for Labor, Health and Social Welfare, and will also visit some health work organizations in Belgrade, Macedonia and Serbia. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0919 GMT 14 Jun 81 LD]

NEW PRC AMBASSADOR--Belgrade--Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, yesterday received the credentials of Peng Guangwei, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PRC, and had a friendly talk with him. [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 May 81 p 9 AU]

NEW HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR--Belgrade--Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, yesterday received the credentials of Dr Pal Simon, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Hungarian People's Republic, with whom he then had a friendly talk. [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jun 81 p 7 AU]